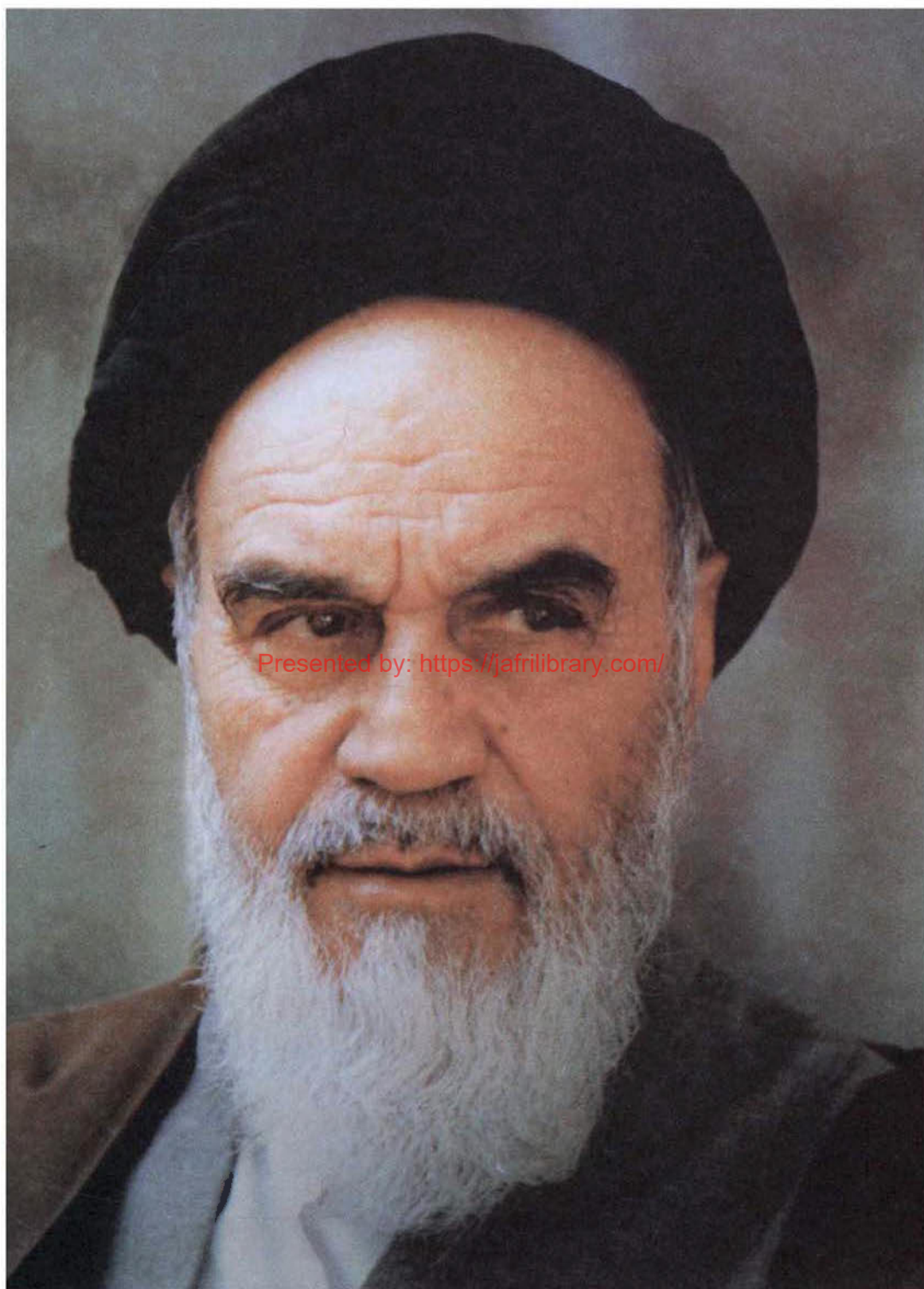




*In the Name of Allah,
the Compassionate, the Merciful*

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RELIGION AND POLITICS
FROM
IMĀM KHOMEINĪ'S VIEWPOINT

A Collection of Articles

*The Institute for Compilation and Publication
of Imām Khomeinī's Works
(International Affairs Department)*

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Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, آ	a, 'a, (')
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	'
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Long Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
آ, ا	<i>ā, Ā</i>
ای	<i>ī, Ī</i>
او	<i>ū, Ū</i>

Short Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا	<i>a</i>
ی	<i>i</i>
و	<i>u</i>

Persian Letters

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
پ	p
چ	ch
ژ	zh
گ	g

In His Most Exalted Name

"Islam is an ideology, which unlike non-monotheistic ideologies, addresses all individual, social, corporeal, spiritual, cultural, political and economical aspects of life and does not leave any topic slightest point which, affects the education of mankind and society, and his worldly and spiritual development unanswered."

Preface

In the vast expanse of the domination and diversify powers of humankind, political leaders, have marginalized cogitation, spirituality and religiousness and are exploiting religion, as a powerful and flexible tool for their own benefit. Pervasive, complex and co-ordinate propagation by those media which are connected to world powers, define religion and politics as two opposing, or at least separate entities and consider specific borders and functions for each of them, in a way—such that—by choosing any use of these frontiers, he either forfeits the others or faces constraint and contradiction.

In such an atmosphere, modern man at the height of experiences individuality and autonomy, and godlike domination, will content himself with a mechanical and industrial paradise, and will believe that the solution to social and political problems lies only in materiality and shunning God. Thus, religion can exist only in individual, personal and non-materialistic arenas, which shall ultimately lead to ever-increasing and widespread anxiety and bewilderment. This removal and alienation of spirituality and maternal life, as shown by scientific researches of sociologists, psychologists and

other scientists, cannot in any way be resolved with scientific and technological advancements.

Hence, in the era of human domination, Imām Khomeinī has by once again putting forward the subject of facts and its effective roles in society not as a personal or intellectual idea, rather as an influential movement in society and politics.

This solution was put forward a line when new individualistic schools were propagating licentiousness, liberalism and modernism and were suggesting that the only choice for human being is confined to his worldly life. What was unpredictable in this matter was the realization of a "religious" revolution with characteristics of "idealism", "justice-seeking" "spirituality" and "democracy". Such that many of the western intellectuals for long, reflected on this phenomenon (that is the Islamic republic of Iran) and studied and investigated in as an extraordinary enigma while the politicians considered it unacceptable.

The revolutionary and religious movement of Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him) not only entered the important aspect of religion into the scientific hypothesis and theories, but also was able to make it a role model for all exploited countries, especially Moslem nations, according to their religious and national wishes, goals and beliefs a model which, unlike pseudo intellectual theories, is real, is in keeping with the political and social and that finally safeguards the national and religious interest.

With this movement of the Imām those people who, because of inculcation by others, thought of Islam as the cause of intoxication, retardation and stagnation, returned to life giving and educative spirit of religion and felt the invigorating power of Islam, both in theory and practice.

Thus, once again public thought in east and west, understood the divine and spiritual values and their effect on social life, and put forward their fundamental questions; questions such as: "Can religion have any relationship with politics? If it can, then what kind of a relation is it? What are its criteria? What are its limits?"

Generally, the harbinger of religiousness and practicing religion believes that the only way for salvation of human beings is to adhere to Islam and spirituality, and believes that religion and politics are very compatible. Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), believes in the union and connection of religion and politics, and is in favor of the idea which says "Our religion is as

our politics, and our politics is as our religion”¹ a slogan, which after the foundation and structuralization of the theory of the primacy of the top spiritual leader, was finally realized.

In sections of this preface, attempt has been made to express the Imām’s point of view and to describe various aspects of relationship between religion and politics according to his political reflections and beliefs, after bringing up the generalities and main definitions in order to achieve a correct judgment although a profound reflection and cogitation is needed in order to survey all aspects of the discussion.

■ Generalities

❖ Religion

1. Definition

The word religion² is defined as habit, characteristic, politics, judgment, acceptance and retribution, while its literal meaning is the traditions and laws, which are sent by God as religious instructions.³ The literal meaning of religion is humbleness, resignation and acceptance vis-à-vis a specific set of laws.⁴

In yet another translation religion is defined as “The set of principles teachings of prophets or the plan for materialistic, spiritual, earthly and heavenly living of human beings, which is sent by God using prophets in order to teach and guide humans. That is a collection of righteous rules and it beliefs which are a motive for righteousness and correct and fair discipline in society.”⁵

¹ A famous saying by Shahīd Mudarris, one of the pioneers of the theory of relationship between religion and politics, in whose theoretical and practical doctrine, the Imām gave much attention.

² Translator: Here what we mean by religion is the Arabic word “*dīn*”, so the definition is also related to the latter.

³ An introduction to social sciences encyclopedia, Bāqir Sarokhānī, PHD, 1370 AHS.

⁴ Challenges of religion. Sayyid Faḍlullāh Ḥusaynī, Kānūn-e-Andīsheye Javān, p.15, Spring 1381 AHS (2002 A.D).

⁵ Essay on the connection of politics and religion from the viewpoint of the Imām (peace be upon him) Muḥammad-Taqī Subḥānī Niyā, “Imām Khomeinī and the idea of Islamic government” congress, vol. 1.

Although each of these definitions reveals a part of the truth about religion, yet they have their own imperfections. For instance, the goal and the aim of religion are not taken into consideration. Therefore, we can use one of these two complementary definitions:

“Religion is a set of interconnected beliefs and an idea about the world, man and the hereafter, which is taken from the divine revelation and its aim, is to guide people to a better life and perfection.”¹ Yet another definition is that “religion is a set of beliefs, morals, rules and regulations for controlling an individual or human society and also to education of human beings, by means of Divine revelation and reasoning.”²

In order to maintain the brevity, other definitions will not be discussed here.³

2. The role of religion

We can consider two functions for religion. One is worldly, and the other, after world function. According to one view, religion has a role in regulating people lives and gives order to social life of human being. While according to another view, it deals solely with eternity and afterlife, giving order to after world matters, affairs and has nothing to do with everyday and social affairs.

However, what is the real basis for essentiality of religion to man?

Human beings, turn toward religion because of the need for self-identification, divinity, and the need for tranquility. (True remembrance of God brings peace to the heart)⁴ Moreover, this is realized in context of society and social and political relations. Religion establishes a coherent and harmonious order which effectively answers central questions of human beings in three fields of the individual, the world, and God, and gives a satisfactory answer to the manner of interaction and communication between

¹ Essay on the connection of politics and religion from the viewpoint of the Imām (peace be upon him), Muḥammad-Taqī Subḥānī-Niyā, “Imām Khomeinī and the idea of Islamic government” congress, vol. 1.

² Theology, Āyatullāh Jawādī Āmolī, p 27, Osarā Publications, 1381 AHS (year 2002).

³ It has been mentioned in the essay “The Reason of Essentiality of Religion for Man” that: “Religion consists of a set of divine laws and—morals—which are in complete harmony with human nature and basic needs of them and is backed by intellect and logic, and guarantees human material and spiritual success, whether in this world or the hereafter.”, *Hawzah-ye Andیشه* quarterly periodical, year 8, no. 35 & 36.

⁴ Translator: A verse of holy Koran.

them.¹ In fact, religion is not taciturn in dealing with human affairs. Religion is both Weltanschauung² and ideology³, which guide man's actions, and is laid down by God. Religion finds both worldly and after world functionality with this role, religion finds both worldly. In its worldly functionality, religion is salvation. Man is freed from all worldly restraints and becomes unshackled. He denies servitude to others and being under their dominion, by devoting himself to God alone.

In its after worldly function, religion is elevating. Finally, although religion is concerned with the last resort or the after world, yet it pays attention to the preliminary—meaning the world—and the manner of living in it and regards the world to be a farmland for cultivation of the hereafter.

3. Islam

The regulated relationship of man and revelation, which manifests as religion, has gradually changed and evolved over time. This evolution is related to mental and social conditions of man and the kind of understanding of man such that in the era of advent of Islam, epiphany of divine decrees was realized comprehensively.⁴ Therefore, Islam, as the last religion, should be the complete reference of God's teachings and decrees. It must be immune to change and evolution.

In Islam's point of view, the last aim of human being is proximity to God and reaching perfection and paragon. With the help of religion, man can recognize the truth of his existence (We are from God, we return to Him), by setting aside numerous curtains, gain perfection, and seek his true nature in a developing movement.

The important point is that mankind can not find the way by himself, and that is only God who knows the virtues and vices lying in the way, knows the characteristics of man, can prescribe the life saving remedy. Therefore, there is only one acceptable plan, scheme and program that leads to the path of righteousness and perfection, and prevent man from decline, deviation and annihilation.

¹ Religion regulates the four different dealing of human being (which are vis-à-vis God, society, nature, and himself), *Theology*, Āyatullāh Jawādī Āmolī, p 27, Usarā Publications 2002.

² Weltanschauung is the way of thinking of a school of thought about world and universe. *An Introduction upon Islamic Ideology*, p 64.

³ Ideology is a set of laws and moral convictions in a school, based upon the Weltanschauung.

⁴ Holy Qur'an, *al-Mā'idah*, 5: 3.

4. The Imām's point of view

Religion, in the Imām Khomeinī's point of view, guarantees salvation and perfection of humankind. Man should always be pious, in its true sense of the term, in order to reach his final goal, which is having position of esteem in front of God. In other words, Islam as the most complete religion that pays attention all aspects of human existence, whether material or spiritual. In the Imām's point of view, Islam's great value and richness is indubitable and all that one needs to reach salvation in this life and the life hereafter is provided in divine decrees and the holy Qur'an. In the Imām's opinion, Islam is "The theory of managing and guiding human from cradle to the grave"¹ and this theory can lead him towards virtue and blessing and keep him from committing vices. None of the economical, social, political, and individual aspects of human life is beyond religion's boundaries and worshipping God is nothing more than obeying divine rules and regulations in social and personal matters.

❖ Politics

1. Definition

The literal meanings of politics ² are: Wit, knavery, policy, power, stratagem, dominance upon peasants, governing the country, government, management, judgment and justice, punishment, command and prohibition, etc. ³ Different translations have been given for this word. Some think of politics as "Policies used by government for handling the country's affairs" ⁴, some others say that "Politics is the way of managing the society or regulating it in a way that leads it to secure its needs and interests." ⁵ Or in simpler worlds, Politics "is the rules for the administration of a state." ⁶

Therefore, politics is a subject, for which different connoisseurs have given different definitions according to their aims and contexts, and have highlighted some points and omitted the others. This has made giving a

¹ *Şahīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 289.

² Translator: "*Siyāsat*".

³ *Political System in Islam*, 'Alīaṣghar Nuṣratī, *Imām-e- 'Aṣr* Publications, Summer 82, 2003, p. 17.

⁴ *An Introduction to Social Sciences Encyclopedia*, Bāqir Sarokhānī, PHD, 1370 it is also defined as "Politics is either religious or civil if it is religious, the canons are derived from religion, and if it is civil, it is a part of practical wisdom."

⁵ *Islam, Politics, Government*, vol. 1, Professor Muḥammad-Taḳī Miṣbāḥ Yazdī, Islamic Propagation Organization, p. 54.

general explanation rather difficult. However, we have no other choice but to accept these two explanations, which are more complete than the others, as the fundamental definitions:

First, "Politics is theoretical and practical management and supervision of communicational, cultural and economic associations, in order to reach the goals which will realize social development."¹

Second, "Politics means choosing the best policies, which is achieved by having a thorough understanding of situation, and knowing how to establish a peaceful relation between individuals, groups and nations. It plays a major role in development of society and achieving national aspirations, in all aspects of life (material and spiritual)."²

2. The role of politics

There is no doubt that every society needs policy, government and management. Therefore, politics cannot be separated from society and each society considers a function for this subject. This function is always in line with the goals and aims of that society.

In other words, the role of politics is totally related to the general fundamentals of society such as existentiality, anthropology, epistemology with the chosen stratagems and goals and has that objectives and aspirations.

For instance, a society, which has set profiteering as its goal, and has limited his ambitions to this world, will look at politics as a powerful tool for secreting human pleasures and benefits. Such a society regards every way of reaching personal and corporal convenience to be valid, and permits domination of other societies. In this society, the permission for doing any task in order to achieve power is permissible and the application of any tools, whether legitimate or not, is considered necessary.

However, in a society in which the goals are to educate, to reform and to reach perfection in this world and the afterworld, politics is a tool for development and elevation of humankind, which is only accessible through legitimate manners. In such a society, power is not at the service of vulgar pleasures and profiteering, while dominance and totalitarianism is prohibited. Therefore, politics can take on different roles according to its aims and objects. The effect in it of politics is such that by using it, it becomes possible to achieve the desired objective and the society will be guided towards that same goal.

¹ *Political System in Islam*, 'Alī-Aṣḡhar Nuṣratī, pp. 20-21.

² Discussions about the primacy of the foremost spiritual leader, leadership and political government in Islam, Muḥammad-Hādī Ma'rifat, vol. 2.

3. Islam

To give a definition for politics in Islam's point of view, we should pay attention to ideas such as being objective oriented, belief in afterworld, religious guardianship and supervision such that, perfection and happiness of man, free will, education and so forth. So that the definition would be able to completely secure and clarify all the essentials and basis under consideration.

Politics in Islam means: to educate, govern, judge and also impart justice. In Islam, politics only in its utopian concept is which has the responsibility of governing the society and people properly.¹ So the application of politics is broader in Islam. Islamic politics is not merely a discipline and management of humankind's ordinary life and in his style of weapon politics not all manners of governing society is acceptable, and the politician cannot use every armament to reach his aims and purposes.² The major criterion in politics is moving towards human interests and education of society towards implementation of divine tenets.

In such a political system that is righteous, laws cannot be indifferent people's way of life. The political leader, with full answers and knowledge, should lead the society towards fulfillment. They do not have any objections against modernism, if it is not against religion and humanity.

Moving of the path of salvation of human and society, is the important characteristic in government of an Islamic society.³ It is explained in these principles as follows:

A- Basic and fundamental principles:

1. Cosmology: Cosmos has a creator, who is the source of everything and He is the one with the right to rule. Therefore, according to Divine viewpoint, sovereignty is only attributed to God, and except God (and those whom God has given the permission), there is no power and sovereignty.

2. Anthropology: Man is a perfectionist being. Therefore, his major inclination is to attain virtue, avoid vices and reach salvation in this world and afterlife.

3. Epistemology: It is possible for all individuals to find the truth in a uniform and absolute manner and relativity is rejected.

¹ Some scholars like Fārābī, which believe in the notion of utopia, opine, "Politics consists of different ways of enabling society to reach salvation and success."

² In a religious system, no matter how sacred the purpose, it does not justify the tool.

³ Ghazālī believes that politics is showing the virtuous way to people, which is salvation in the world and the afterworld.

B- Policy and process: In Islamic beliefs, one should use legitimate tools in order to reach the goal.

C- Aim and goal: In Islamic beliefs, the aim of politics is reaching perfection and proximity to Divine.¹

4. The Imām's point of view

According to political viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), "politics," is what moves and guides the society; it considers all of the society's interests and all aspects of society and mankind and guide them towards what is expedient for them."² Politics, according to this point of view, is an aspect of divine sovereignty over the world and is the way of guidance and leadership of people and society towards their true interests in all aspects.³

In other words, politics should lead to "reformation", "guidance" and "education" and in this way, it is against deception and subterfuge and hegemony which leads to vice and evil.⁴ Politics according to the Imām is the leadership of a purified and pious individual, who leads others towards human development and perfection. Thus, the scope of politics will be broader. In this definition, the goal is not merely material welfare or meeting the needs of people' living; rather good⁵ of this world and the hereafter determines the principle stance of the government.

With a close look at the Imām's political thinking, one can deduce that in the definition of politics, some important points have been considered:

A. Politics is of the same ilk of guidance, leadership and government. Meaning that the one who holds sway over the political system, and leads the society towards perfection, should have the needed qualifications himself.

B. Politics has a clear-cut direction and the only direction, which is acceptable, is the divine direction.

It is explained in this way that, the Imām considers three types of politics namely: 1. satanic politics, which consists of deception and subterfuge; 2. Beastly politics, which only pays attention to answering materialistic, needs

¹ *Philosophy of Politics, "The Pattern of Government"* pamphlet, pp. 26-29.

² *Şahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, pp. 431-432.

³ *Şahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol.18, p. 421.

⁴ *Şahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol.13, pp. 431-432.

⁵ Public interest is ensuring rights, securing values and fulfillment of the goals of human society in different situations.

of society; 3. Islamic politics, which pays attention to both material and spiritual needs of society.¹

The third type is the one, which the Imām has in mind that consists of reformation and guidance and ends in salvation of the society. Therefore, the leader cannot be indifferent towards the perception, perspicacity and actions of the members of the society.

C. The aims of politics are guidance, prudence and reformation. Therefore, the Imām does not accept any movement that leads the society towards degeneration, corruption and deterioration. Therefore, in the Imām's political definition, having a definite aim plays an important role. In the same way that personal and social interests and salvation are the essentials of politics and this interest implies virtues and avoiding vices are essential pillars of politics and this interest implies conformity with virtues and avoidance of vice.

Overall, we can reach the conclusion that the aim of politics, is to eliminate public deviations (in all its forms) from the path of development and loftiness of the society and since Islam is a "material-spiritual" doctoring, so an Islamic government should pay attention to all human aspects.²

D. Politics is in interaction with tenors such is "virtuousness", "justice" "foresightedness" "Tactfulness" which are of the special fundamentals of the Imām's political thinking. This means that—in the interaction of these four principles, divine and Islamic politics have taken shape and the interests of society is secured.³

▪ The relationship between religion and politics

❖ Theories

Throughout history, the challenges between religion and politics have been one of the major preoccupations of scholars and politicians. Sometimes humankind has advanced nearly to the unity of religion and politics, while sometimes he has denied any connection between the two.

In order to show the area of connection between religion and politics, we should identify the function and territory of each one. The appointed criterion

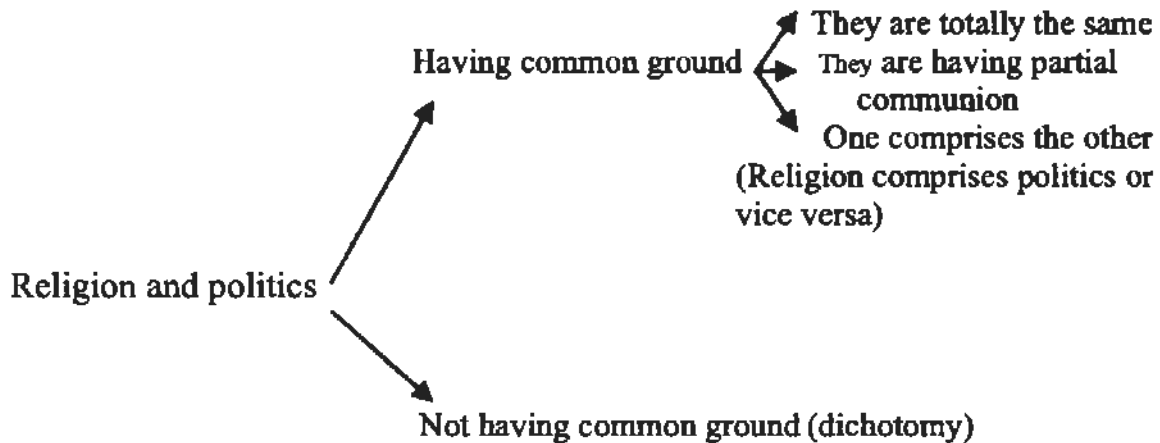
¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 432.

² *"Ṣaḥīfeh -ye Imām"*, vol. 11, p. 451.

³ Exclusive basis are those, which have a direct effect upon relationship of religion and politics, *"Basis of Public Interest in Political Viewpoint of the Imām"*, Bāqirzādeh, PHD, pp. 175-179.

is either this world or the hereafter. According to logical procedure, we should build a framework in which the territory of each function is defined. This general framework is very important for evaluation, comparison and reviewing famous ideas on this subject. It can also give a general view of the relationship of religion and society.

Therefore, categorization below is suggested for entering the debate: ¹



In this categorization these points are observable:²

A- Religion and politics have a common. What are the boundaries of this joint territory? We can make these assumptions that:

1. Religion and politics enjoy a complete coherence and are similar. The logical relation is equality. Therefore, based on this assumption, everything that is connected to politics is connected to religion, and vice versa.

2. Religion and politics have partial communion, which means some of religious subjects are political and vice versa meaning that political subjects are related to religion.

3. Religion and politics have absolute common and exclusive relationship. More specifically, we will have two especial phases this assumption:

¹ This categorization can be done with other criteria. For example, if the criterion is changed to individual and society, the general sketch will be similar. For example, "religion deals with personal matters and politics with social" or "religion deals with both individual and society but politics deals only with society" or "politics deals with both individual and society but religion deals only with individual" and other types.

² This suggested categorization, has sorted all the possible conceivable models based upon the criteria of this world and the after life. Therefore, it is possible that in reality some of these models are not achieved or not practiced.

Phase one, the assumption that politics is a part of religion. That means religion deals both with this world and afterworld matters, whereas politics only governs this world's affairs and they have a communion in this area.

Phase two, the assumption that religions are a part of politics. In this phase, this world is the one, which is important, and a small part, which is also secondary, for me consists of the afterworld.

B- Religion and politics have nothing in common. Meaning that is there is no application of religion that is applicable to politics. Such a relationship is called dichotomy. Each one has its own territory and there is no connection and relation between them,

Now that we have a general view of different types of relationship between religion and politics, we will undertake a detailed discussion of two aspects of this relationship, which are "The assumption of the separation of religion and politics or secularism" and "The theory of assimilation of religion and politics".

1. The idea of separation of religion from politics (Secularism)

The idea of secularism or separation of religion from politics took shape as preponderant idea, in the west.¹ This idea has been responsible for the divide between government and politics with religion. It was shaped in the renaissance period. Its causes were the behavior and attitude of ruling class of church and religion towards the idea of temporalism and the intellectual and scientific experiences of humankind.

With the help of the previous categorization (p. 8), we can conclude that these two structures are in agreement with it.

First: A dichotomous structure, which accepts that religion and politics do not have any shared boundaries and are completely different. (Part B)

Second: A structure that believes in that there is a common frontier in an absolute common and exclusive form of. However, it regards politics to be primary and incorporating religion.

According to this thinking, those who believe that there is a separation between religion and politics, opine that religion does not meddle in social matters or at least has remained silent and it is human experience that has taken over the role of managing society and the world. Religion, according to this theory, has taken care of personal and spiritual affairs of mankind, and in

¹ "Secularism is a western phenomena related to the passing period from the old phase to a new one which manifested in the movement of reformation of religion, in the form of faith in originality of mind", *Criticism and Idea*, p. 7.

this subject, it has been effective too. However, it does not have a role in general, public and worldly affairs.

Some of the principles of the thesis of separation of religion from politics are: "Anthropocentrism", "intellectualism", "scientism", "indulgence", "modernism or being against tradition", "remoteness of sanctity of religion from political defilements and deceitfulness of politics", "politics being customized and intellectual", "reaching the end of era of religion and that religion belongs to the past"¹ "religion being a personal and individual matter", "internality and spirituality of religion", "natural distinction of religion and politics", "pluralism"², "Theocracy being undemocratic".³

This idea has pervaded from its starting point, the West, towards the Islamic world with increasing intensity. Considering that in Islam "The opposition of religion with intellect" or "The opposition of science and religion" and finally "The opposition of this world with the afterworld" have no meaning, the fact that this idea has gained the upper hand is significant. The idea that gets a nonreligious frame in this culture, ideology and traditions. Meaning that they sever their links with religious values or with divine principles.⁴

Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him) explains the reasons popularity for of this theory of separation religion from politics as follows:

1- Conspiracy of colonialists and Jews for destroying Islam in ways such as training intellectuals, negation of comprehensiveness of Islam,

¹ The views of famous sociologist August Kent, about the transitions of mankind confirms this idea, *The Development of Philosophy in Europe*, vol. 3, p. 114 and also "Theology" p. 39.

² Pluralism is caused by doubtfulness and relativity. Although the famous saying is that truth is with anybody and everybody will have a share of the truth, Islamic viewpoint rejects it, because human has affixed nature (mettle) and seeks a fixed and unchanging truth. So he cannot accept multitude of truths. In other words, the spirit of divine religions and their principles are the same and have merely expanded through out history. According to this monotheistic point of view, religions do not have apposition and dichotomy with each other. (Please refer to "Theology", Āyatullāh Jawādī Āmolī, from p. 185 onwards, Section 6).

³ "A survey of the relationship of religion and politics", Muḥammad Mahdī Behdādvand, Islamic Government. Year 7, No. 2, "A Survey of the Idea of Separation of Religion from Politics...", Muḥammad-'Alī Barzenonī, *Imām and Religious Cogitation*, "The Relation of Religion and the World" Āyatullāh Jawādī Āmolī, Chapter 2.

⁴ Allen Borough notes that; "We should not consider the process of making irreligious which is accompanied with differentiation of spiritual matters from materialistic ones and authorization of special functionality of intellect in virtuous deeds ... the same as the process which suggest the negation all religious ideas in life, and leads to mere intellectualism and atheism."

antireligious propagation, promotion of negative dimension of politics (deception, chicanery, trickery ...), misinterpretation of religion and worship.¹

2- Conspiracy for appointment of successor for the prophet of Islam (BPUH) at the advent of Islam.

3- Misapprehension of the clergy who did not understand the principle of Islam.²

4- Lack of self confidence of Muslims vis-à-vis western progress.³

Therefore the misapprehension of Muslim scholars, the dissenters and western imperiousness are the causes of penetration of this idea in Islamic world, and the Imām with his deep and precise understanding of genuine Muḥammadan Islam, thought of complete faithfulness to Islam as the cause of salvation for Islamic nation and reaching true success, and with pathology of Islamic society promulgated the theory of connection of religion and politics with the introduction of "Islamic government" and "The supremacy of the supreme spiritual leader." He believes that subterfuges like the idea of separation of religion from politics are artificial and are result of lack of correct knowledge of religion and politics.⁴

He believes that the aim of religion and politics is education and transcendence. Therefore, both religion and politics are installed for the same goal, but perhaps by means of two different ways.

There is no difference in existence or non-existence of a religion which chooses seclusion and has no effect on social relationships of the society and will naturally fail to achieve its goal- education and transcendence- and will become a mere tool in service of politics and power.

2. The idea of integration of religion and politics

This idea, as opposed to secularism, believes that religion and politics are sharing some boundaries together and are enjoying a kind of union. In this point of view, not only religion participates in politics, but also connection

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 338, vol. 4, pp. 16-17, vol. 5, p. 185, vol. 9, p. 177.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 358.

³ "*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*", vol. 8 p. 79, "A survey of the relationship of religion and politics", Muḥammad-Mahdī Behdādvand, "The separation of religion from politics from the Imām's viewpoint, Iraj Tabrizī, Collection of Ideology, leadership and process of Islamic revolution vol.1.

⁴ The Imām (peace be upon him): "Islam is a devotional and political religion.", "*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*", vol.13 p. 274, vol.10 p. 158, vol. 11 p. 463, vol. 5 p. 268 and also: "Islam's politics is mingled with its other commandments" vol. 3, p. 516.

between religion and politics is necessary and religion can give politics a special motivation and drive it towards the final goal of man, which is perfection and salvation.

According to categorization of relationship of religion and politics, (p. 8) two types are suggested for this integration:

First- The equal structure that believes the domain of religion and politics are one and the same and have similar topics. Terms such as "union", "uniformity", "sameness", and "connection" are observed in this structure. (Section A, No. 1).

Second- The structure, which believes in, shared domain of religion and politics such that one complements the other but in a way that religion complements politics. (Section A, number3, phase 1).

The idea of integration has a long history in religious societies¹ such that the divine prophets have been the first political leaders of the society and did not differentiate between a religious and political leadership.² This theory is nurtured in the Imām's viewpoint and it believes in the idea of integration, relationship and interaction of religion and politics.

Basically the Imām, in following this theory, was opposed to both the isolationistic and secularistic idea about religion. He pursues the fact that the final aim of religion is only attainable with establishment of a real divine government and serious participation of religion in politics.

With a prudent observation of dual structures of the theory of integration of religion and politics, it becomes clear that:

A- Religion and politics are totally the same in the sense of function, goals and general principals. This means that the goal of religion is sublimity, perfection and reformation of society and for reaching these goals, it trains and educates the society; and politics is nothing besides this.

B- The second structure, in meaning, explains the partial communion. In fact, it believes that politics is a part of religion. Since religion, being more comprehensive, includes both material and spiritual affairs and politics is about worldly matters, therefore politics shares this area with religion.

In some explanations of Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), the first structure and sameness of religion with politics is mentioned. For instance,

¹ There is a negative interpretation of this structure in history and that is the ecclesiastical viewpoint of this idea in medieval period. According to this viewpoint, all economical, scientific, social and cultural details should be interpreted in religious context and religion is ecclesiastical interpretation of it. In this way, any idea outside this framework is forbidden.

² *Sūrah Šād*, 38: 26, *Sūrah al-Mā'idah*, 5: 49.

the Imām believed in "comprehensiveness of Islam"¹ and that Islam and Shiite jurisprudence is "The theory of managing mankind from cradle to the grave"² or that "Islam is a political religion, it is a religion that everything in it is political, even its worship."³ Moreover, in Islam, "politics is mixed with worship."⁴

Also, sometimes the second structure is mentioned. For instance, he explains the aim of Islam as: "Islam has come for mending the life of world and the afterworld."⁵ Or he mentions that, "installing a non-Islamic system, means ignoring the political aspect of Islam"⁶ or that "The commandments of religion have a variety of rules which constructs a general social system. In this legal system, whatever mankind needs, is made available ..."⁷

In short, in political ideas of Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), both structures are considered such that Islam has not even forgotten politics in personal prayers, and does not consider politics separate from religion. On the other hand, when world and afterworld -politics and religion- have a common ground in general, they will have a communion in details too.

Islam believes that the only way of reaching the afterworld is through this world, and we cannot ignore one to achieve the other, and guidance and education of people would be impossible without indulgence in politics.⁸ Also, one of the ideals of Islam is the establishment of justice and that is not possible without the use of politics. According to the Imām's point of view, is it possible to have justice among people without participating in political affairs? Is it possible to stand for justice without involving in politics, social affairs and the needs of nations?"⁹

¹ "If someone states that establishing an Islamic government is not necessary, he has denied the necessity of the execution its commandments and has denied the perpetuity of the holy religion of Islam.", *"The Primacy of the Top Spiritual Leader"*, p. 20.

² *"Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām"*, vol. 21, p. 289.

³ *"Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām"*, vol. 10, p. 15.

⁴ *"Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām"*, vol. 4, p. 448 and other explications such as "swear to God that Islam is completely political."

⁵ *"Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām"*, vol. 19, p. 44.

⁶ *Principals of Political Morals of Imām Khomeinī*, Ashraf Borūjerdī, Collection of essays of the 8th Seminar on Review of Theoretical and Practical Thoughts of the Imām, p. 265].

⁷ *The primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority*, p. 21.

⁸ "It is apparent that Islam pays a lot of attention to government and political and economical relationships so that all the conditions would be ready for education of a virtuous and pious mankind.", *"The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority"*, p. 21.

⁹ *"Ṣaḥīfeh -ye Imām"*, vol.15, p. 215.

Therefore according to the Imām's point of view, not only religion in general and Islam in particular have an interconnection with politics; rather, this connection also is the cause of the union and sameness of religion and politics. Finally, Islam introduces a cohesive political and social system which perfectly answers all problems of human life and is capable of making a right connection with economy, education, management, sociology ...

In the Imām's point of view, there are some general¹ basis, which form into a orderly shape and integrate. These principles are Cosmology, anthropology, sociology, aestheticism, politics and epistemology.² According to this systematic viewpoint, the Imām as a spiritual leader, gnostic, politician, and philosopher ... was trying to unify these aspects, and his attempt of unity, was opposed to any political pluralism.

For further familiarization of the idea of integration and relationship between religion and politics, which is the principal theory of Imām, (peace be upon him), we will explain different aspects of the theory and finally take a look at its perfection under "The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority":

A. The political characteristics of Islam

Islam, as the last gift of God to people, claims that it can fulfill all their needs. This assertion is validated by introducing a way of life, a clear pattern for actions of human beings in different important social and political dimensions.

With the arrival of regressive beliefs, the genuine Islam which was present in all social decisions, changed to an individual, personal and neutral religion—a religion which had nothing to do with government and rulers and merely dealt with worship and fulfillment of superficial aspects of a religion; a religion which had lost all its contents and its ultimate objective was seclusion eremitism and monarchism, a religion which posed no danger and menace for global arrogance and therefore was promoted, backed and promulgated by it. According to Imām, an "American Islam" which was opposed to "The genuine Islam"³ was promulgated as a religion. The Imām

¹ General basis, are those fundamental principles, which make the foundation of Imām's idea and at the same time, have indirect but nonetheless important effect on the relationship of religion and politics.

² Some of these are briefly explained in this essay, p. 6-7.

³ A message by the Imām in memory of martyrdom of Sayyid 'Ārif al-Ḥusaynī stated that: "Unfortunately even now, for many of Islamic nations the boarder and distinction between

further believes that a nonpolitical interpretation of Islam is a kind of declaration war.

Therefore, religion, and specially Islam, will not tolerate indifference towards political and social matters.¹ We will list some of the political characteristics of Islam, which shows the viewpoint of Islam towards politics:

1. In Islam, there is no worship, which is not combined with politics.²
2. Considering the universality of Islamic commandments, it is concerned with universal government and leadership.³
3. Justice seeking and fighting tyranny is the final end of rightful divine uprising.⁴
4. Islam is against any kind of dictatorship, vanity and hegemony.⁵
5. Political boundaries of Islam, include humanity and the entire world, it is not limited to a specific nation or tribe.⁶

B. The reasons for integration of religion and politics

The Imām has given different reasons to justify the relationship of religion and politics. These reasons are divided into two main parts:⁷

(1) Quoted reasons

The most significant quoted reasons are:

- The tradition and policies of our holy prophet (peace be upon him) that he, himself established a government and became the political leader of society and second, on the orders of God, appointed a successor for himself.

American Islam and Genuine Islam, the religion of the poor and the religion of sanctimonious impious people and the rich, are not defined completely..."

¹ Some of the political principles of Islam which are considered the unchanging principles of Imām are: "The necessity of religion and politics", "The participation of all classes of people in all areas", "social justice", "seeking honor and fighting hegemony", "protecting the poor and the destitute".

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol.3, p. 516 & "*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*", vol. 6, p. 43.

³ Seeking the path from Imām's words, nationalism, p 63, "*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*", vol.17 p. 204.

⁴ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 419, vol.8, p. 342, vol. 9 p. 423.

⁵ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol.1, p. 387, vo.15, p. 507.

⁶ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 41, vol.8, p. 520.

⁷ For further reading, please refer to Essay on separation of religion and politics, 'Alī Mohamed, Congress of Imām and Islamic government vol.1 and also "The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority", p 17-23, A survey upon theory of separation of religion from politics ..., Muḥammad Barzenonī, International Congress of Imām and Religious Ideology

- ☐ The tradition of "The leader of the faithful", the Imām 'Alī; that after demise of holy prophet, nobody had any doubt about necessity of government, rather the only difference was about the head of government.
- ☐ Narratives from our holy Imāms about the necessity of obeying spiritual leaders during the absence of the Savior Mahdī.
- ☐ Struggle of the Immaculate Imāms, which were all-political and resulted in their martyrdom of the hand of usurpers of government.
- ☐ Intellectual reasons
- ☐ The spirit of religious commandments is political.
- ☐ Qur'an has far more social aspects compared to aspects of individual worship.
- ☐ The necessity of perpetuation in implementation of Islamic commandments and their not being limited to the time of advent of the Savior.
- ☐ The prevention of disorganization in Islamic society depends on installation of government.
- ☐ Based on a unifying perspective, everything is precisely religion.

All these reasons can be summarized in this sentence that "The relationship of religion and politics which leads to establishment of government is a matter that is quite apparent and doesn't need that much [external] proof."¹

C. The necessity and aims of a theory

(1) **Necessities:** The necessities are the cause of occurrence of one phenomenon inevitable, or in other words, the lack of occurrence the phenomena to become impossible or at least causes disorder in the natural process.

Some of these necessities, which confirm the interrelation of religion and politics and regard the establishment of an Islamic government to be essential, are:

Firstly, Islam is concerned with this world and the world after. Therefore, it cannot do away with social programs and political interactions, which make up a major apart of man's life. Therefore, with participation in social and political matters, it sets the rules and policies of social life. In

¹ "The Primacy of the Top Spiritual Leader", p. 3.

addition, Islam believes this world is a preliminary for the afterlife.¹ So ignoring the world and forgetting our duties makes the afterworld lose its genuine meaning. Therefore, how we live in this world has a direct connection with the life in afterworld, and these together make the life of man. Therefore, this life consists of personal and social commandments and actions, and these two are both considered in lofty programs.

Secondly, In order for government to achieve the aim of spiritual purification and education, it has to eliminate injustice and encroachment, and practice impartiality. Lack of fairness and economic poverty, class discrimination of societies, lack of culture, promulgation of non-Islamic culture, schism between Muslims, indifference towards the destiny of Islamic nation, exploitation of resources of poor countries, especially Muslim nations, forgetting the final aim of human beings, are just a number of policies which with the intervention of religion in politics and society should be abolished and this is an important duty.²

Thirdly, Islamic commandments are always practical and do not belong to a specific period. Major parts of divine commandments are concerned with public and social affairs, and religion has enacted them for implementation and can never be neglected. Unlike the idea that believes that human material and intellectual progress, will erase the necessity of religion, social experiments of contemporary man shows that, the more he has backed away from religion, the further he has deteriorated.

Therefore, the teachings of religion oversee both material and spiritual interests, and with a complete knowledge of human beings, demand the execution all the commandments of religion and in case of omission of social and political decrees, personal commandments cannot bring about salvation of humankind.³

(2) **Aims:** In theocracy, governing and reaching power is only a tool to achieve the goals and aims, and seeking power for its own sake is never a consideration. In fact, government is a preliminary while execution of Islam's commandments is the goal. An Islamic government is established to

¹ Our Blessed Prophet, *"The world is Preparation for the Afterworld"*, *"Kunūz al-Haqāyiq"* ch. Dāl.

² "The idea of prevention of non-Muslims from taking control of Muslims" "admonishing others to do right and to avoid sin" "protecting the weak" "reformation of society from corruption" and many other social mottos of Islam depend on establishment of a government, and on interconnection of religion and politics. Islamic government pays attention to public interest and with the execution of commandments of religion society will be cleansed of hegemony and weakness.

³ *"Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām"*, vol. 15, p. 214.

reform an undesirable situation and to attain a favorable condition. In other words, the final aim of theocracy is to guide and educate people so they are freed from bondage and move toward spiritual purity. Therefore, by establishing an ideal religious government will guide people towards that goal by educating them and implementing reforms. In such a government, decisions are taken based on the interests of the society.¹

Therefore, profiteering, greed, racism and hegemony are condemned. In such a system, power in Islamic government is only used to reach the final goal (we are from God, and we will return to him) and its policies are considerate of "admonishing others to do right and to avoid sin."²

But this goal is only attainable with installation of justice, fighting against transgression and atrocity. Therefore, an Islamic government is equivalent to a government of justice and a fair and just government must be in harmony with man's pure nature and a government, which is thus, will inevitably have public assent³ and is coordinating and in keeping with its divine legitimacy. People will support such a government that guides them towards the final destination and uses all legitimate tools in order to break the obstacles in the way of this worthy goal. In such a government, there is always a struggle against blasphemy, apostasy, evil government and discord in human societies.

In short the aims of religious government are these:

- a) The ultimate aim of educating and guiding people towards the truth
- b) The middle aim of establishing justice and equality in society

D. The primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority⁴ is a product of integration of religion and politics

When Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him) introduced the theory of "The primacy of the Superior Leader Authority," the majority in seminaries (Hawzah) were against establishment of a religious government and leadership of a religious leader. Even in religious assemblies, concepts such as waiting for the Savior were altered in such a way as to lead to satisfaction of the people with the current social conditions and indifference toward the

¹ "Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām", vol. 6, p. 191.

² Also principles such as "advising the Muslims" "becoming closer to God" and the principle of "Priority of refinement of the soul and ethics."

³ Assent and legitimacy needs a different chapter for explanation. However, legitimacy in religious government is given by God himself, and assent is acceptance of people.

⁴ Translator: *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*.

lack of execution of divine commandments. Even those who attempted to reform social conditions would lose their sacred status.

In Shiite history, political passivity and negation of government were propagated. Especially in the period of absence of Savior the Imām Mahdī (peace be upon him), the impressions of negation of legitimacy of non-innocent governor, and even negation of any effort for establishing a government was promulgated. Although efforts by spiritual leaders such as Mīrzā-ye Shīrāzī, Āyatullāh Nā'īnī, Mudarris, Āyatullāh Kāshānī and others shows the emergence of a new notion of integration of religion and politics, but in truth, for the first time in Shiite history, with the theory of primacy of the Superior Leader Authority, Islamic government was theorized within a philosophical and political framework. In a way that, the principles of political and social system of Islam, while keeping all the principles in a systematic manner, depended on installation of this framework. This theory was capable of answering religion and engagement in politics in a way that they were in harmony with each other in this theory, a pious and religious Muslim, in addition to paying attention to the principles of religion, obliges himself to arise for God's sake for restoration of the genuine Islam, and never give up until the establishment of the true divine government. He thinks of this obligatory uprising, as a preliminary to the universal reign of The promised Savior of mankind, Mahdī (peace be upon him).¹

In the Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint, not only should one try to establish such a government, but also the safeguarding of the Islamic government—, which, if it is achieved- is an obligation, and is of the basic necessities and Islamic commandments.

The Imām as a spiritual leader, who follows the traditions of the holy prophet, with a dynamic knowledge of religion in keeping with religious tenets,, regards establishment of Islamic government as a religious obligation and duty, and considers negligence and hesitation on this subject to be irredeemable.

In his viewpoint, the top spiritual leader has the religious and political leadership and is responsible for proper execution of divine commandments. In fact, Islamic government is legitimized by the will of God, and its power is derived from the will of people, so it has a difference in spirit with current democratic governments. In this type of government, the objection is not the leadership of leaders of religion. The criterion of theocracy is the

¹ "The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority" p. 39: "God has provided the era with that same governmental feature which was present at the beginning of Islam and until the advent of Imām Mahdī, for the era after the disappearance of the Savior also."

administration by religious leaders who try to implement religious laws and commandments. In fact, leadership of the Supreme Religious Authority [in society], is the leadership of religion¹, and all are obedient to divine commandments, and since they all follow religion, there is no opposition between the will of people and the will of God. In this view, Islam and divine teachings, which never change, make up the contents of the government. However, the form and framework of theocratic government—can change and be transformed in keeping with the demand of the period meaning that theocratic government—accepts evolution and transformation of human society in forms that are in harmony with religion.

Although in an Islamic government the religious leader has authority like the prophet and the Immaculate Imāms, however, because these empowerments are for purpose of implementation of divine canons, there will be no evil². Also this matter does not negate the idea of people choosing their own destiny, and people have a basic role in accepting the Islamic government and finding and identifying the top spiritual leader.³

In this genuine political-religious idea, that was introduced by Imām, especial characteristics are visible, which we should pay more attention to, but here we only make a list of them, and refer to some of the characteristics of Supreme Religious Authority:

1- The primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority is a government of law and ordinance.⁴

In the Islamic government that the Imām has in mind, everybody should obey the laws and are responsible to implement them. In other words, only divine law and religion oversees all actions and even the spiritual leader is equal with other people in this context. Therefore, nobody can create laws, unless it is in the framework of laws, ordinances and divine commandments. Thus, the government is constitutional and its condition is obeying the commandments of religion.

¹ In the idea of primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority, both people and the leader of Islamic society are obliged to obey the rules and there are no exceptions in this matter.

² The sensitivity and importance of this matter is so much that with committing just one of the cardinal sins, he will lose both leadership of society and religion.

³ There are two aspects to the top religious leader: A. being a representative of Imām Mahdī ('a) so except the position of Imāmate he has complete judicial powers and responsibilities. B. being the representative of people, and the Chosen one. So he is also a symbol of "divine dominance" and responsible for guarding public interests., Derived from essay "Interaction of Intellect and Religion according to Islamic government" Mujtabā 'Attārādeh, *Imām Khomeinī and Islamic Government*, vol. 1.

⁴ "The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority" p. 34.

2- People have a decisive role in Islamic government.

Although the Supreme spiritual leader is the appointed deputy of Holy Imām, but people have a role in recognition, achieve presence, and provide support to the Islamic government. It means that if there is no public desire for establishment of government, divine government will not be manifested and in this way, people will have the right to choose their own destiny. Therefore, unlike in a democratic system, the notion of freedom and rights does not mean the absolute sovereignty of will and demand of human beings.

3- The Supreme Religious Authority has the authorities of the Immaculate Imāms ('a).

By having the required qualifications (wisdom and justice), and paying attention to interests of Muslims, he can possess the absolute authority as that of holy Imāms', and without his approval, no law and commandment is legal and imperative.

4- The boundaries of Islamic government are the geographical boundaries of Islamic world and Islamic nation

Political decisions and attitudes in international relations are not limited to geographical or national boundaries. The Supreme Religious Authority, is the representative of all Islamic nations, and is concerned about their interest vis-à-vis the world. In Islamic government, nationalistic notion changes to brotherhood and unity between Muslims; and the borders of Islamic world are the boundaries of an Islamic government, and diplomatic rules are executed in a way so as to maintain self-esteem of Islamic nations and guard Islamic spirit and identity.

5- The condition of Supreme leadership is knowledge of religious jurisprudence

The primacy of Supreme Religious Authority is government of religion and commandments. Therefore, the one, who is chosen to have this responsibility, should have two qualifications: first, he should be the most knowledgeable of all people about religion and religious commandments and second, he should have the political ability for managing the society.

Therefore, whoever has religious knowledge of the holy religion of Islam has not yet attained the position of leadership, but he only has the sufficiency. To become the supreme leader, people have to see in him as having judicial and management abilities.

6- Government is one of the necessities of religion

Establishment of a government is one of the primary commandments of Islam and has priority to anything else. If there were any government based on principles of Islamic laws, not practically all other commandments would

not be executed completely. Therefore, according to statement of the Imām that, "Government which is a branch of the absolute religious authority of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ), is one of the primary commandments of Islam, and has priority over all other secondary commandments and even over saying prayers, fasting and *Hajj* ... (The religious leader) can prevent any action whether devotional or non-devotional that is against the interests and benefits of Islam ..."¹

7- The main role of government, is to execute commandments, guide and supervise

In an Islamic government, there is a functional system designed for the laws established and the tradition of Imāms demonstrates that they had the responsibility to perform this duty. Power and government in Islam implies the ability to implement Islamic commandments. In fact, the leaders are the executive powers of enacting the sacred laws; and with policies and planning they attempt to prevent deviation from the right path.²

Conclusion

Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), by ruling historical events, and having a thorough knowledge of history of Islam and likewise, modern history of Iran and the world, has undertaken to find the causes of weakness and decadence of Muslims. On the other hand, his mastery in other fields such as religion, philosophy, theosophy, ethics and politics made it possible for him to look at every social matter from different perspectives, and find complete and correct answers.

In fact, his personality characteristics, deep studies and keen judgment of social and political issues of Iran and the world, led to a movement that changed every ordinary transaction of the world and created a new impression of religion in the mind of the people of the world.

In general, the Imām's viewpoint is observable under several sub-headings:

¹ "*Ṣaḥīfeh -ye Imām*", vol. 20, p. 452.

² The Imām in the context of authorities of The top spiritual leader believed the leader of Islamic society not only can legislate the secondary commandments and governmental laws, rather, according to interests of Islamic society he also can even temporarily change the primary commandments which are the unchangeable in religion., *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*", vol. 20, pp. 451-452.

A- Islam is a universal and complete religion

Man, in order to answer his personal, social, worldly and spiritual requirements, is in need of religion and religion has a solution for each of these affairs. The Imām (peace be upon him) believed in universality and comprehensiveness of religion, and found the answer to all questions and ambiguities within religion. In other words, the Imām thought of religion as the answer to all needs of modern man.

B- There is union between religion and politics

This can be explained from different angles:

The Scientific Angle: Since the Imām had undertaken various studies in the fields of religion, philosophy, theosophy, ethics, politics, history... and had an especial theosophical disposition, he had a comprehensive view of the sciences. He not only believed that all human sciences are different manifestations of one truth (God), but also thought of all creatures as a sign of God. Therefore, the truth is one and the same, and the differentiation between sciences is only nominal and subjective.

In addition, according a monotheistic view, all the multiplicities are from a single source and generally, all multiplicities belong totally to a single source.

Second- political and social: the Imām considering his contemporary historical experienced like the constitutional crises, nationalization of oil industry, the reign of Pahlavīs and also contemplation in political history of the world and Islam, reached the conclusion that whenever religion has entered politics and society, it has been able to step one step further and be the cause of goodness and bliss; but whenever religious leaders have chosen seclusion or ,because of eclectic reasons lost their role, that movement of society has been doom to failure. The Imām has discovered the strength of the idea that "our politics is as our religious and our religion the same as our politics" in schools of people such as Mīrzā-ye Shīrāzī, Shaykh Faḍlullāh, Mr. Kāshānī, and finally Shahīd Mudarris.

Religious and Theological Angles: In categorization of spiritual leaders, the Imām belongs to the category of doctrine of fundamentalists and traditional theologians and firmly believes in traditions of our prophet and Imāms and the holy Qur'an. In this point of view, execution of the commandments is only possible with establishment of a government, and religion which is the genuine Islam, shows that politics is not only a major principle, but is also a tool for establishment of justice, and prevention of tyranny and therefore implementation of divine laws and commandments.

C- Expedience and paying attention to time and place is necessary

Expedience, common good, universal salvation, interest of Muslims and Islam and interest of the poor all have the same meaning which is, "The benefit or loss—whether material or spiritual—caused by a decision or an action and its effect on and its effects and all those that are affected by that decision or action."

According to the Imām's, who believes that politics is nothing more than common good of society and securing the good and interests of people, common good is the sum of four principles of "Truth seeking", "wanting the worthwhile", "objectivity" and "sagacity". In other words, common good, is "respecting the rights, values and goals of human society in different situations that secures every policy, decision and action in this regard."

The fact that all commandments—whether devotional or not—follows the good and harm, is an important principle which the experts of Islamic sciences have accepted, unless somebody denies the logical aspects of virtue and vice.

Therefore, considering the situation of society, Islamic leader chooses the decision that is appropriate, and governs according to that and prevents corruption and evil.

According to this view, those secondary commandments that are against the interests of Islamic country, may be omitted.

D- Islam has a system, which is moral-based, and politics follows that

We can deal with the relationship of morality and politics from different aspects. Some of those aspects are:

First) The final goal of religion is to reach human perfection. Man is the essence of the world, and can reach to the height of humanity with his action and will. The only path for reaching this goal is through refinement of the soul and performing virtues deeds. Therefore, man traverses a path of perfection to reach God, and religion does not have any goal other than this.

Second) Islam outlines a guiding role for the government. It believes that the goal of politics is removal of public corruption and aberration—in all its aspects—from the path of development and perfection of society. Therefore, it uses all tools to propagate virtues and prevent social and ethical corruption.

Third) Religion is against profiteering. In ordinary politics, national interests consider every tool to reach its goals to be valid, and believe that using every instrument to be permissible. However, Islam believes that the end does not justify the means. We cannot use any method to reach the goal.

Therefore, political behavior in Islamic government follows moral values and the dominance of virtue upon politics is a clear fact.

Fourth) Religion is concerned with the welfare of all humanity. The universality of Islam causes it to firstly, consider welfare and good; and secondly, not only the welfare of the Muslim society, rather, generally, the reformation and welfare of all human societies. Therefore, the propagation of truth is of special importance and divine and Islamic teachings, and spreading the genuine Muḥammadan Islam.

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An Approach to the Relationship between Religion and Politics

Muhammad-Mahdi Behdārvand

Secularism¹ or theory of separation of religion from politics is a well-known theory shared by two groups. The first group wants by this means, to prevent religion from interfering with and having any influence on political and social affairs while the second group has accepted this theory just to safeguard religion and prevent it from being altered on account of political and social changes. The first group who for the most part were and still are colonialists and their agents, view the divine rules and commands as an obstacle to preventing them from reaching their goals, namely, the gratification of their carnal appetites and putting into practice their ideas of politics and management of society. Moreover, since they realize that religion also has a blueprint for the social affairs of man and as this blueprint is not compatible with what they want and need and because of their opposing and oppressing religion should it become clear to all people, so they would either be thrown out of power or at least they would run into lots of problems and obstacles when implementing their programs. Therefore, they decided on separating religion from policy and restrict rely on to individual

¹ The famous theory of secularism that has the same meaning, in fact, signifies the separation of church from state; however, the prevalent usage of it implies the separation of religion from politics.

acts of worship such as prayer and fasting. As for the religious social precepts they want to have them either eliminated or brought in line with their needs and wishes. Another thing which helped in realizing this idea and carrying out this objective was the supervision and control the church had over all the aspects of life of European societies for hundreds of years and the subsequent revolt and uprising by these societies against the limitations and restrictions imposed on their lives within the framework set by the church which we will also discuss.

Prior to what Europe regards to be the Scientific Renaissance, the church had dominated, shaped and controlled all aspects of individual and social life. Everything was connected¹ to the church, from the government- whose kings were in a way connected to the church and its lords, to other affairs of people such as scientific subjects of the time that had many branches because of such control by the church. The priests brought individual and social life under their control by spreading ideas which made for monastic and hermitic life in the name of spirituality and based on misconception of the asceticism of Christ and over the centuries they ruled over people's ideas with such intolerance that any deviation from this intellectual framework was deemed an act of heresy and atheism and was punished even by execution. Many researchers whose discoveries or speeches were not in line with the knowledge system of the church were either sentenced to death or imprisonment. If in natural sciences, biology and astronomy, slightest reference was made to the creation of the universe and man and to the stages of existence and position of the earth in relation to the rest of the heavenly planets and differed from the distorted assumptions of the altered version of the Bible of the pain, men of church, torture and wrath would be inflicted on the scholar and if he held his ground he would be brutally executed like being burnt alive. Medicine was practiced like it was practiced by the primitive tribes of Africa. Diseases were put down to hidden factors and causes most of which were thought to have come into being as a result of the enmity of Satan and demons and the wrath of deities and so some belief like that of Augustine and the great pope of Europe sprang into being where physical treatment and medicine could not eliminate the causes of diseases which were thought to be supernatural. Thus, with this kind of attitude,

¹ For example, there was a principle in the rule of governing over Ecuador in Europe, which forced governors to destroy polytheism, and if he glossed over the rules of the pope, his properties would be captured and he himself would be jailed. Martyr Murtaḍā Muṭaharī in the book "The reason, tending to materialism has discussed in detail with respect to this issue. Refer to collection of works, vol. 1, *Ṣadrā* Publications, 1370 AHS.

physicians who engaged in physical treatment or research in this domain were accused of magic and even chemistry that did not seem to have anything to do with the lords of the church came under attack and opposition and in the year 1317 AD, the Pope declared chemists as being criminals and sinners.

The beliefs of the church had a similar influence on art, and works of art at the time were conducted in special contexts. For instance painting and sculpture, which were some of the arts of that period, clearly exhibited the principles and teachings of the church. Paintings, scenes or sculptured statues depicted human as a heavenly being and thus draw the viewer towards spirituality, that too in the form of monasticism.

All this pressure, constraints and chains of the church on people's mind and body set in motion a vehement reaction, which is known as scientific renaissance. Many people who ran out of patience with the authority of the church and the extent of its eliminating material things, engaged in different kinds of disobedience to shake off the shackles and to open up new ways. For instance; despite the tradition of the church which set constraints on creative works of art, some painters and sculptors depict man as a totally physical being; and although statues of prophets and godly men were sculptured, the message these statues conveyed to the viewers was that of an excessive inclination towards the mundane world with its physical pleasures so much so that these statues showed a completely naked body of a human being. In these statues, all skills of an artist, so to speak, went into the making of these statues to show human being in the ultimate form of beauty with perfect body and face.

Eventually, this revolt against the church culminated in a set of events such as breakthrough in new scientific fields, many innovations, new industrial inventions, the discovery of a new continent, the stirring up of material emotions and sentiments in people and widespread social movements. In turn, these led to the separation of spirituality from materiality and the extension of the influence of the priests to the church with this backing, the theory of separating religion from politics was fixed in the mind of the people and because there was other way of relating religion to social affairs, values to knowledge and philosophy to science, thus whenever this relationship was mentioned, it would bring back images of the hegemony of the church and the bigotry of that era which is known as the middle ages in their minds. The westerners took one-step backwards from it, which on the other hand brought about its downfall and by restricting spirituality to individual ethics and confining religion within temples they fell into the

quagmire. Today, we see how revolving social affairs around an orbit of materiality has drawn the ethics of the individual in that direction and has weakened the society.

This perverted though which arose out of the strictness and non-divine restrictions of the leaders of the church based on radical misconception of the life of Jesus Christ, spread to the Islamic countries as well through orientalists, European armies tourists and the contact of statesmen and the educated of the Islamic communities with the West. Some modernists and so-called enlightened, without taking into account which religion is inconsistent with social life, welfare of human being, reasonable development of material potentials, humanity and elevation of human thought and without considering from where the attitude of separating religion from politics, had come, restored to questioning religion and attributed the lack of Muslims' material progress and their retrogression to the interference of religion with socio-political and economic affairs instead of attributing it to their straying away from Islam. They considered religion as a chief stumbling block to civilization.

So it was said that the latest theory which attempts to resolve the conflict between religion and civilization is the theory of the separation of religion from state which saw the solution for the existing incompatibilities of the eastern and western systems with Islamic values and knowledge as lying in limiting the scope of the religious rules to individual relations and in eliminating any role and function of religion in social relations and management of the community. It maintains that "religion has nothing to do with politics and that basically any expectation of religion to solve social problems would be misplaced."

Therefore, though the colonialists who fear Islam and Muslims' movement also present the theory known as the "separation of religion from politics" as a political and colonial slogan, it has various intellectual roots, which on the surface takes on the form of preserving and protecting religion and divine rules.

Generally speaking, the intensity of the western and eastern cultural and civilization onslaught on the Islamic countries especially after the European scientific renaissance can be seen as one of the chief causes of the separation of religion from state. An attack which has been unleashed on different logical, philosophical, economic, political, cultural, artistic and technological levels and in all aspects of Muslims' life has affected many facets of life in a way that has inevitably reduced the scope of religion to individual acts of worship and to affairs of the hear and has given rise to theories such as "The

separation of religion from state". Theories which with defeatism in the face of western and eastern advancements have completely ignored the role of religion in socio-political relations. By adopting political, economic, managerial, cultural and technological models of today's materialistic systems, they have consequently demonstrated that religion has no other function beyond individual acts of worship.

The different reasons and premises that are put forward by the exponents of the theory of separating religion from state can be explained in several stages and we will explain each one of them by studying and analyzing them.

A number of proponents of this theory see the constant changes in the conditions, social relationships and the discovery and the creation of various things such as the invention of new industries or substantiation of hypotheses and theories or the creation of new theoretical and scientific schools and they notice the effects of these things on the changes in the relationships of human communities. Similarly, they see such things as the only way and factor for the development, happiness and progress of humanity. Also, they think that this civilization and culture clashes in a big way with divine canons such that the foundations of this civilization along with its concomitant changes hinge on limiting the scope of implementation of Divine Canons and in its wake it about relations that are inconsistent with Divine commandments. Therefore, they thought that if the scope of the tenets included all social relations, there had to be a new revelation for each one which is obviously not possible or they were to device a new rule based on the same evidence of revelation and authority everyday and every hour to cope with the world changes in which case they realized that revelation would be a plaything for the constant changes of rules to keep up with social conditions and events. For this reason they concluded that it was best to narrow the scope of religion to individual act which they saw as consisting of individual worship and a thing of the heart which they imagined could remain constant in the context of a variable category. Consequently, they entrusted thinkers and intellectuals with the task of setting social rules and relations and they thought that by disentangling religion from politics, they could maintain their religion and were free to benefit from the accomplishments of human thinking and experiments and its resultant development and welfare so to speak¹.

¹ Mr. Bāzargān is one of the believer in this viewpoint who has set forth in this field in one of his works called "The Afterlife, God, and the mission of prophets" and also refer to:

-Analysis of the Meaning of Theocracy "Abdul-Karīm Sorūsh, *Kiyān*, issue 32.

-Democratic Religious Government, 'Abdul-Karīm Sorūsh, *Kiyān*, issue 11.

-Merits of Benefits of Religion, *Kiyān*, issue 27.

The exponents of the theory of separating religion from state came up with evidence to prove the validity of their claim. For example, they say, "Today it has become clear to everyone that politics in its broader sense, has lots of subsections with various scientific branches and that every social act and reaction is bound up with numerous factors where before it was to some extent possible to be studied, scrutinized and investigated".

They also add, "Basically following the European scientific renaissance, there occurred wide changes in politics and management of society and this was greatly intensified by the industrial revolution. Lots of thinkers and scientists engaged in investigating and thinking on this subject and the result was tremendous efforts being exerted in the context of scientific laws regarding administration of the society. Thus, today, not only European and American countries that have benefited from this and have founded their own social relations based on these formulas but also other countries including the Islamic countries and basically, the political and social establishments of all countries are based on these laws and formulas. Not only their political organization but also their cultural and economic organizations are based on these establishments¹. With the development of communication it has become easier for the effects of any new change, discovery, new law and etc...to spread all over and it is realistic, scientific and logical for everyone to make use of this so that more perfect and more comprehensive formulas emerge on the basis of which a better life can be built. It is clear to everyone that changes in these formulas and laws are always accompanied by development of human information and humanity believes that in none of the scientific fields the ultimate perfection has been reached and that the road to development has not reached its end."

They also maintain that: changes in societies and social conditions open up new vistas for studies and knowledge. Just like in the period prior to the industrial revolution where the majority of people of a given society lived in villages and rural areas—something which had its own consequences—with the industrial revolution the percentage of people living in cities increased tremendously and the centers of population in big cities came into being

-the Prophet's Deeds and their Implication for the Religious canons, Muḥammad-Sulaymān 'Alī-Aṣghar, ar-Risālah Institute, vol. 1.

Then either there must descend a new revelation every now and then whose rejection is obvious or they must assume daily and every hour.

¹ For more information about this claim, refer to "Mir Charlian, *Culture and Religion*, the article on the separation of religion from the world-translated by Dr. Murtaḍā Asadī, pp. 35 and on.

- *Ideology and Religion of the World*, 'Abdulkarīm Sorūsh, *Kiyān*, issue 31.

which had its own corollary problems and brought about new studies on management and political institutions and relations. This the reason why in such big social gatherings everything moved in the direction of social institutions and the role of countless elements and factors in bringing about a certain event or even a social production came to the fore. Therefore, for preventing inappropriate social patterns which sometimes start from one or a few small factors and due to the expansion of society and communication they became a problem, special studies were initiated on the basis of which new sciences took shape and on which the existing social institutions are built. It is evident that with the passage of changes of conditions and the emergence of historical events and new social changes, not only these sciences become complete and as a result will be starting-point for social relations but also new scientific fields will spring up so as to respond to the needs of the time”.

They conclude that: considering these explanations, how can religion be related to these issues? Is it possible to relate a fixed thing to an invariable thing? For these two to connect either these things should be made invariable and static which means society is to stop developing, or this thing should be made compatible with those things, that is to say that religion should change and the implausibility of both (changing religion and constancy of society) is quite obvious. Therefore we must separate the two and consider a special domain for each one so that when social aspects are in a constant state of flux, religion can maintain its stability”.¹

In summary, the proponents of separation of religion from politics hold that since the religion of God is fixed while social conditions are changing, these two can never connect together² and maintain their distinct entity at the same time. Thus, we cannot help but say that religion has something to do with individual matters only which are mostly moral and emotional whereas other individual and social matters must be taken care of by human science and philosophy so as to be tune in with conditions of time and place and thus find solution for them.

¹ Refer to *Wisdom and State*, Mahdī Hā'irī, London, 1994, p. 141-142.

² Of course, we should note that dealing with religion from the functionalist and instrumentalist position could not present a religious and virtuous view toward religion because this legal movement is an important discussion in the philosophy of religion. Engineer Bāzargān and his fellow thinkers are considered as followers of these approaches. It should be declared that Engineer Bāzargān deviated from his previously held beliefs. (diverting from pragmatism and opportunism to religion).

In response it must be said that the above talk about limiting religious rules to individual and moral matters is only possible when we disown any relation of "cause and effect" between individual matters and social conditions and the environment; otherwise if we believe that it is not possible to disown the relation between social and individual matters, we must concede that morality and emotional relations will also be affected by social conditions and environment. Moreover, if socio-political system is grounded in things which are in conflict with divine revelation, individual morality and behavior will also gradually gravitate towards materialism. In other words, by taking into account the connection between social relations and individual matters, it cannot be acceptable for such things as social matters of individuals to be regulated by anything but revelation. Thus individual and moral matters can be completely brought in line with revelation and it must be said that even though the ability to choose in human beings will not be absolutely taken away by the effects of social conditions, it is axiomatic that on a large scale it can eliminate any room for the growth of faith and narrow down the scope of worship of God in people. Therefore, it should be noted that the claim made by proponents of separating religion from politics and who say that by restricting the domain of divine rules to individual matters, religion can be persevered is not easily viable and social conditions can gradually affect the behavior of individuals and change them.

Secondly, if the argument of the proponents of the "separation of religion from politics" is rooted in the fact that the unchanging quality of laws of revelation is inconsistent with the changing feature of social conditions and relations. Based on this, it is not possible to apply Laws of Revelation even to individual matters because the morals, spiritual and emotional conditions of individual behavior are also in a state of flux and are developing and maturing at different stages and it is not that they are absolutely fixed and in a state of peace.

To give an example, attaining a good behavior is a gradual process that is attained over a period and as days go, by it becomes perfect and lofty and it is not that it comes into being all at once and always remains the same.

However, if the reasoning lies in the fact that as a rule fixedness and change don't mesh and there can never be any kind of relation between what is changing and what is unchanging, then this view besides repudiating the necessity for the revelatory laws, it renders useless any kind of experimental and scientific law which is also affected by changing social and natural conditions. This is because at least experimental and scientific laws can be useful over time and in different conditions. For instance, a chemist claims

that the formula of synthesizing “chlorine” and “sodium” to make “food salt” holds true in different conditions, times and places or an economist believes that his economic theories hold true over time despite the change in conditions and various factors.

In other words, thinkers also claim that their theories and laws are complete and take into consideration various circumstances and at least have the ability to be realized in one period of time and they never claim that they demonstrate the laws the “static” and “unchanging things” rather, they claim to discover the relations governing changing phenomena which despite their changes can not step outside the context of scientific laws. Thus, if we repudiate any kind of relation between changing affairs and fixed ones and take political and social relations out of jurisdiction of the fixed divine rules, we must say that experimental and scientific laws also can not play such a role because the purpose of human beings from acquiring scientific and experimental knowledge is to study the governing and fixed causes of variable phenomena. For this reason, the claimants of the theory of separating religion from politics are forced to deny any kind of law such as natural, social, historical etc...and to deny any kind of cause and effect relationship with respect to changing phenomena and objects.

Denying the laws governing changes is in fact, denying the quality and reason for the change and disowning the reason for change. Initially, it indicates a lack of order and harmony in phenomena and ultimately is a repudiation of motion and change itself.

For example, if there is law governing the change of water into vapor in the sense that under normal conditions and by boiling water it will turn it into stone, fruit or other things. Meaning the proportion of change in all aspects has become equal for a given quality, it means the repudiation of change and motion. Similarly, if we concede that there is no way for the fixed things to become variable and that there is no real connection between these two, it won't be possible to acquire any kind of knowledge, experiment, skills, specialization and comprehension because all of them will be realized provided that in fact, subject and phenomenon, despite their variable and varied aspects, posses a real common aspect or various times and places.

When there is nothing in common between yesterday's childhood and today's adulthood, we cannot consider these two as two stages of a person's lifetime. If bread and water in place “A” have nothing in common with that of place “B” it can not be said that bread and water are essential foods for all people in different places. If people did not have any common concepts, regardless of the difference in perceptions and bases of people, there would

not be any kind of understanding and it would not make sense to make use of other people's past experiences. So long as there is not any common or fixed aspect of things in different periods, no experience will prove useful for other periods. Similarly, it will not be possible to acquire skills because this occurs over period and takes place because of repetition. Based on theory, there must not be any common aspect and relation among the different stages of a changing subject and the intermittent phases will not reveal any maturity and development towards perfection in a particular manner.

Even though demonstrating the relation between the variable and the fixed is one of the basic and most important philosophical discussions of motion whose effects are manifested in all the different domains of visual, sensual and emotional perceptions. However, it is necessary to rely on this summary and to conclude that the exponents of the theory of separating religion from politics want to limit the scope of religion to individual, moral and emotional states on the false pretext of a lack of any relation between changing affairs and unchanging ones. With such a hypothesis, nothing can be interpreted including individual affairs and all phenomena and objective, theoretical and emotional subjects. It must be said that by making change absolute and by denying constancy in changes even if only in respect of social matters, this is incompatible with the very essence of change and motion.

Basically, on the strength of Islamic beliefs it should be conceded that laws and commands of revelation are conducive to growth, development and elevation of the individual and society (and not "laws of static") and the wise God, being awareness of all the different stages of and conditions development of the individual and society, ensures development and elevation by acting on these laws.

In other words, the comprehensive Divine commandments which take into consideration all individual affairs and provide guidelines for social system and the dos and don'ts, incorporate all interpretations and various subjects concerning the process of development and perfection of the individual and society. Based on the comprehensiveness and finality of the clear religion of Islam, it is not possible to accept that there are issues about which Islam does not have any rule.

Of course, how is it possible to apply enlightening individual and social Islamic laws to all the different times and places, is a very important question, which should be addressed. Therefore, based on the Islamic beliefs, it can not be possible to only limit the revealing Islamic rules to individual relations rather fixed commands of revelation must be a firm criteria for

sound development and a lofty movement in the direction of social, political and cultural conditions of society. They are also regarded as movement towards change of social issues that are attained within the context of divine rules and in congruity with them. Otherwise, any program towards social change and any project in the name of development, which are incompatible with the right divine rules, will not only not lead to social progress and development rather, the unchanging divine will, it will facilitate the downfall and deviation of individuals of society.

As far as the issue of separating religion from politics is concerned, so far it has been said that two groups share this theory; some have chosen this theory just to preempt the influence of religion on politics and they view the implementation of social religious rules as running counter to their own aspirations. Basically, they present religion as an impediment to human development, scientific advancement and human thought. Others have subscribed to this theory in order to safeguard religion from socio-political changes and they claim that: "Basically, religion is not responsible for laying down rules with respect to social issues and problems and it should operate only within the limits of individual relations."

In the above lines we set out to explain the first stage of the claimants of the above-mentioned view and we said that they hold that, "relating religion to politics will either render static all social aspects or it should change religion to keep up with social changes" and they concluded that: "in that case we should limit the scope of the fixed divine laws only the current issues, for they are fixed and don't change". For this reason they restricted the divine laws to individual matters and they entrusted social issues to science and human experience. In response to this point we said that this analysis would not just confine religion to individual affairs because the morals and emotional relations and individual conditions are also developing and changing rather, basically, repudiation of any relation between changing and fixed affairs would refute any concept, skills, specialty and knowledge. We concluded that the basis of the divine laws are the laws of development and change and not the laws of stagnancy and that the Divine commandments are the criteria and measure of any sort of change and transformation in the outside world.

In this part we will engage in the second stage of explaining the views of the proponents of separating religion from politics who claim that basically religion does not have directives for the complicated socio-political relations of today's world, for the way to manage these societies, and for the question of planning and its quality and quantity; that it is the human knowledge and

experiment over the last few centuries which have been able to address these issues by making lots of breakthroughs not to mention the fact that various political doctrines plus different methods of management were innovated taking into account social conditions and the real and tangible issues of societies. All of these have been recorded in the form of accurate laws and disciplines of social and human sciences such as sociology, economics, psychology and law. Today, the scientists and intellectuals undertake to tackle social problems on this basis and they base their social relations on such basis and in this regard, nothing short of "common sense and experiment" plus reasoning based on them are involved." They add that; "When we carefully look at the social, economic and cultural institutions and issues of today's societies we can realize that such things have nothing to do with religion". For example, what does religion have to do with managing a country and how it should be run? What powers are needed to run the affairs of a country? How do these powers relate to each other? Are they inclusive of each other or is it desirable to safeguard them? If it is necessary to have all the three-judiciary, executive and legislative powers like everywhere, how should they be organized? How many are ministries necessary for the executive power? How many assistants and advisers should each minister have? How should the organization chart look like? How should a minister relate to the last rung of the organization? How should the budget of every ministry be allocated and what is its significance and role in running the country? How should the budget of the whole country be regulated? On what basis should the quality and quantity of the budget be decided upon? How should the legislative structure look like? What conditions should apply to the jurists of the country? Should they be elected or appointed? If appointed who is to appoint them and on what basis should they be appointed? How many jurists are needed? What are the stages of ratifying a law etc... All questions for which religion does not have answers, because it is not responsible for this domain; whereas all the different sciences established by human beings answer these questions and although many schools of thoughts came into being to answer these questions, none of them are related to religion and the selection of one way from among others is solely done with a view to the social conditions, intellectual analyses and reference to own experiences and those of other societies. It is clear that when we make a choice from among the experiences, sciences and industries and base our societies on them, we open up doors for the development and progress of all aspects of society and we close other doors and create special relations in society. The economy takes on a special form and is thus based on special

formulas and rules. Culture, science and knowledge will also find special ground for improving themselves and society will pursue specific issues, and in this way discover new things or will in experience.

Therefore, it must be said that, "Religion should be kept within the confines of individual affairs, mainly emotional relations, worship, morals and the relationship of the individual with his creator. As for the relationship between human beings and human beings with nature, man will devise it by means of the power of science and the authority that God has granted to him."

Likewise, about the technological relationships in a society they cite an example and say that, "This issue is clearer in technology and experimental sciences because no matter how these techniques and sciences in the fields and preliminaries that have been provided by human sciences and social relations develop, but applying each of these rules and laws of human sciences does not play a role in the quality of the experience and feeling; because feeling and experience taken place on the material world that has a single reality and leave a distinct mark and feature. Hence understanding this dimension of the world and acting upon the basis of that research, program and reasoning requires special experts who should be armed with the new sciences and this has nothing to do with religion, religious texts and its canons and laws. For instance, there is no mention of how technological structure should be like in any religious order. Should the program of production be centralized and linked and should industry be driven more towards a centralized system? On the other hand, is it necessary to prevent the movement of industry from taking this course?

Similarly, they say it should not be thought that the separation of religion from politics has something to do with recent years or after the advancement of science and technology of today's world. Rather, these two subjects have always been separate; except that in the past because sciences were not advanced and their dimensions were not known, and the general knowledge of the people and the knowledge of the sages at the time was not vast and to an extent, was static. This issue which was supposed to be resolved by the convention of society or by the intellectuals and specialists, was not very palpable (although they were acted upon) and mainly, the difference in managerial and executive methods was seen as a difference in taste, inclinations and talents, whereas today, policies, relations and the way of conducting various social undertakings have been investigated and researched thoroughly and as a result, different conclusions have been arrived at which can be applied in different places depending on conditions.

Therefore, in advanced societies social policy do change much with a change in managers, because specialists make their decisions on the basis of particular sciences, rules and laws and with further development of these sciences, the partial differences will be ironed out and everything will be put in the context of scientific and experimental laws. For this reason, today the separation of religion from politics has become clearer. In other words, political sciences and other social sciences because of having developed tremendously and come into their own have accentuated their differences with religion and its resultant and necessary knowledge.

In response to the above ambiguities it should be said that if it is expected of religion to come up with specific and separate interpretations applicable to various conditions and details before it intervenes in social affairs, it is not achievable, because it would necessitate sending new prophets to convey divine rules with respect to every single case just to cope with the changing social conditions and emerging issues. In this case, every individual should either be a prophet himself or should be in constant contact with a prophet so as to have a divine verdict concerning every issue, situation and stage which for many reasons is out of the question; or that the honorable prophet of Islam and the Infallible Imāms mention laws within the context of verses and narrations for every contingency so as to fit in with various issues at different times and places. These rules must encompass government laws, management, planning, organizing the budget, plans for the individual and family, in such a way that for instance, the Islamic republic of Iran for the year 1366 AHS and with respect to organizing the budget should act in such and such way or that Mr. (A) on such and such day and hour and minute perform act (B) in dealing with such an issue. It's obvious that such a thing is not viable for a number of reasons.

However, as we know, all the rules necessary for human life up to Day of Judgment have been revealed in the context of verses, narrations and traditions as comprehensive rules and are interpreted by the theologians in the same form that is mentioned in traditional jurisprudence. Even though conforming general subjects of the general divine canons to the secondary interpretations or determining whether an external secondary subject is the interpretation of which general subject so that its verdict becomes clear is undertaken easily on all issues and is not always the norm. In fact, some issues require particular expertise but this does not mean that religion is separate from politics or from management of social affairs in all its various aspects and this kind of things are of pure intellectual nature and are unrelated to religion. However, the illuminating religion of Islam has laws

for every issue and situation that human encounters and the application of the divine laws are not designated just for the morals of the society and special customs; rather, it also considers the form of social life and the issues afflicted by them are different from other societies and the Muslim in this society reflects on issues and subjects that have no place in other societies. We can notice this by simply contemplating the way Muslims lived and related to each other in the past. The influence of Islamic rules is clearly indicated and proven in architecture, housing and urban construction, economic and commercial ties, market, industry and agriculture, ways of eating and clothing. Of course, as we said before, due to the fact that societies were small and the issues were, simple, applying the rules was much easier; but now for different reasons, such as the tremendous expansion of societies and the way Muslims were erroneously influenced, on some issues, by atheistic societies and the emergence of issues which some of them are by-product of non Islamic social relations, implementation cannot be carried out easily and applying divine rules to political issues, management of society and other affairs is not possible without a special method and *raison d'être* except for the geniuses and the exceptional.

This issue can be studied from another angle:

Generally speaking, in a social system and in a development program that scrutinizes changes and transformation in different dimensions of a system, the aims and where the manner of classification of issues in that system and determining of specific quantitative ratios that is assigned to which of the subjects and relationships are instances that in relation with one another bring about a social movement. All in all it can be said that there are three specific points in planning and in any social change: quality, quantity, and logic and methodology on the basis of which issues are identified and classified.

In fact "determination of quality" can be considered to be the issues, goals and relations which are raised in a given social system. For instance, if we look at the entire classifications and issues in a given social system, we will see that besides being related to each other the cultural, political and economic systems are also made up of especial issues and relations. Likewise, in a given economic order alone, we can see different issues, aims and relations, which are dissimilar to the issues of a political order. What is important is the direct compatibility of issues and phenomena of a given system with human goals and relations in that system so that it cannot be claimed that human relations and the governing goals of a given system are inconsistent with the issues and phenomena of that system. For example, it is

noted that there are multinational companies, consortium of oil companies, trustees, stock market, and monetary system and credit based on interest rate and other corollary small and big issues and issues related to the social system of capitalism in which the private legal relations everywhere are attuned in favor of maximizing wealth and capital. It is natural that the model of consumption, production, and distribution and all issues and technology associated with this model will be influenced in some way by these legal relationships.

Tying human relations with the issues and problems of a given society in socialist systems can be examined in another way. For instance, basically things such as stock market in those systems are not available and money and monetary system take on adherent form. Likewise, management, form of organization, the mode of selecting and appointing managers have diverged from the western parliamentary method and emerged in the form of ruling proletariat party where all these changes in management style and administration of the system occur in compatibility with human relations and specific right which, is given importance and worth in a Marxist doctrine. In other words, the dependence on government relations and the repudiation of private ownership in socialist systems has changed the form of the system as well as the way these issues relate to each other and has given birth to special problems and issues of its own.

This same issue can be viewed from the perspective of accepting human relations based on revelation and by noticing the effects of divine canons in bringing forth issues existing in one system and one civilization. For instance, it is clear that by repudiating the principle of capitalism and multiplication of wealth, in Islamic social systems there will never be business companies and organizations in the form of consortiums and trustees as in capitalism or a particular ruling class and the realization of a completely government-oriented system. The pattern of consumption of society will never be a luxury and consumption-oriented as in the west, or clichéd and government-oriented as in the east, where following that many of the Islamic community will be different from those of the west and east. Prohibition of alcohol will be necessary and the resources of the community will never go into the making of factories and in research on formulas of various kinds of alcoholic existing in atheistic systems. Basically, the technology of making alcoholic drinks will be repudiated. Instead the focus will be on a lot of new issues that are prerequisites of worship and bandage of God and human civilization will be directed towards proximity to Allah. In other words, when we want to establish particular social relations, we will

also need special reasons and material conditions because anyhow the purpose of planning the Islamic social affairs or even planning individual affairs is implementation of divine laws, creating grounds for and facilitating the implementation of the divine rules or resolving problems on the basis of canons. Naturally, there will emerge special issues in these societies and it is necessary to identify them. Therefore, the quality of planning will also in this sense will be related to religion and ideology.

As for determining quantity, the budget amount or cost and value will be proportionate to the quality of the program and in a holistic view it will definitely be related to religion, because if a government is asked for instance, why does it back up one commodity or a social issue or earmark budget for it and develop it and in exchange, it levies a tax on quality on other commodities or why it earmarks less budget for it, with regard to the laws and equations will show to us that such a determination of quantity is such that in future, it will facilitate the social conditions and it concludes "every quantity cannot be assigned to every quality and when determination of—as (we mentioned earlier) is determined in the Islamic programming, quantity will also follow suit. Anyway as we wrote earlier, that these kinds of affairs require special expertise and familiarity with rules, laws, and specific methods of summarization similar to the logic and method of recognition of external objective subjects and classification of sense and experience. In fact, logic in practice, accurate observation of how quantities and qualities are related in a given system or project and social program on the basis of which, the right movement can be made from the status quo to the desired situation and also the right communication of subject in every section of the route should be identified and studied. This is an essential thing and one of the most important features necessary for the Islamic social program and certainly, it is related to Islam and Islamic laws in a specific way and how they relate and their features and characteristics must be scrutinized in the subject of recognition and establishment of Islamic order.

The proponents of the theory of separating religion from politics may claim that:

Basically, considering that there is no real relationship between values and dos and don'ts on the one hand and the issues related to the natural and social world on the other, for this reason it cannot be expected for the mind or feeling in the spheres of values or vice-versa revelation to have a relationship by explanations external issues¹ and subjects and the reason for

¹ Refer to *Preoccupation about Theocracy*, Muhsin Kadivar, Nasher-e-Ney, 1379 AHS, Tehran, *Religion and Politics* chapter, Article on *the Message of Religion and Social Duty*.

not having any true relationship between issues and values and facts of existence is that dos and don'ts are consistent with the purposes and aims of the makers of dos and don'ts and it is not that they are compatible with the facts of existence and external issues. For instance, if we consider the maker of the law and contract to be human beings, this law or contract is in line with the purposes and aims of these very human beings who see it as a duty and necessary to follow these laws in order to get what they want. For this reasons we can notice the proportional difference in the purposes and objectives of laws, contracts and the various dos and don'ts in human life. Sometimes, some people also follow the sublime laws and dos and don'ts to achieve their lofty objective, but sometimes man sees his ugly deeds as necessary to attain his indecent goals.

In other words, as far as motivations and objectives make sense only in relation to humans, proportionate the worth of these objectives and ends dos and don'ts find meaning and value. It is important to know that the world cannot be in line with a special end and even though God has in line with the ends, established dos and don'ts, however, this does not mean that the world and the facts of existence are in proportion to these dos and don'ts; rather, another objective can be taken into consideration and values proportionate to them can be established (in the same way that the materialists undertake). Both of these sets of dos and don'ts have the probability of occurrence and realization of these "existences". This means that and indecent values have the likelihood to materialize. Here it shows that there is no real connection between the facts of world of existence and the values of dos and don'ts because in the world of realities and existences, whatever is present is in harmony with existence and it does not make any sense to say, for example, fire is bad or water is good, but good and bad make sense only find meaning when a purpose and objective is valid so that in line with that objective a specific do and don't becomes necessary and makes sense. Based on Islamic beliefs God set the purpose and law and Muslims can only get at the dos and don'ts by understanding the revelations and by learning from it, while "existentials" are another thing which is related to reality and knowing it is the responsibility of the mind aided by the five senses.

They conclude that:

Now if we look at the existing world we can clearly notice that man has accumulated worth while wealth for himself by employing the mind, sense, experiences and varied and repeated experimentation and which cannot be substituted with anything else. Technology, civilization, and sciences which show how to live and show how to develop and make progress politically,

culturally, economically and militarily and acquaint humanity with the facts of the world are precious gems, that no matter they are sometimes mixed with atheistic material values, but because this contamination is not intrinsic it can easily be cleansed and purified. By putting them beside revelation, morality and spirituality derived from religion, a complete set of revelation, feeling, and intellect will be obtained which will ensure happiness in this world and the hereafter.¹

Therefore, to sum up the above issue, that in order to make a choice and goal to be compatible, there are necessary preliminary steps and whatever happens in the world has no precedent and there is nothing to be said about "what ought to be" because values are nominal and they depend entirely on the choice of the maker of the goal and they have nothing to do with what is true has happened in the world.

In response it must be said:

Firstly, no conclusion can be drawn about a given aim based on the preliminaries and relations of that aim while at the same time retaining all of them (goals), meaning that for example, in a given journey the destination will be as much affected by the dos and don'ts along the way as the starting point and similarly their qualities will be affected by the route the journey takes. If we want to travel to London from Tehran there will be dos and don'ts that suit such a journey and which won't necessarily be the same as the dos and don'ts for a journey from Tehran to Qom. Likewise, in order to prove a specific subject to the same extent that the characteristics of this subject are effective in the trend of reasons, the accepted preliminaries that are on the route to the dos and don'ts are also effective. It is clear that if from every preliminary and with every kind of reasoning one can prove any subject then reasoning will become meaningless. Or if it is possible to get to every destination from any starting point or by any kind of movement, movement will become impossible. Therefore, no matter what is said that dos and don'ts essential for a particular movement entails determining the goal but to the same extent that these canons are in line with the goals it must be in line with preliminaries. If this happens to be the case it is definitely so. Thus from the view point of religion the Almighty God who is the maker of laws and only his commands are to be obeyed and to the same extent that these laws are compatible with the purpose of creation of man and whatever ought to be resonates with what is and as well as with the objective conditions and background of the universe, and needless to say the

¹ *Islam and the Fundamentals of Governance*, 'Alī 'Abdur-Razzāq, p. 163.

connection among each other is compatible. Therefore, the communicated values by religion is inconsistent with the facts of world of existence; and aside from this, no matter how in tune is it with the aim of the makers, but is incompatible with the essence, fact and existence of the world, or in other words, the legislative creation is in tune with the formative creation and the discrepancy between these two for various reasons is not compatible with Islamic beliefs.

Secondly, if we separate "is" from "ought" in this way, we won't have values because "dos and don'ts" and "good and bad" in a given program, depend on the choice of the aim of that program and the "good and bad" of an aim and the "dos and don'ts of choosing that aim is up to the one who makes the choice. On this basis, "necessity and ought" in following the commands of God will also be valid and therefore it won't make sense because the world especially human beings are limited and needy creatures. They must obey the Creator of the Universe, that's the "delegation of this world has not had a "must" for following the Creator of the Universe and does not declare it.

If it is said that the necessity of following the divine orders is something which a sane mind or an aware conscience can perceive and there is not need to observe "is", it is clear that in this speech also, the manner of relationship of "is" and "must" is accepted, because from this viewpoint it is an aware conscience or a sane mind which spell out the "must" involved in following divine rules or else the mind and the conscience which doesn't profess and submit to this "must" is defective.

Thirdly; if concerning the discussion of movement we arrive at the conclusion that time is a dimension of quality and the future exists in the form of potential in the present and man and the universe have been created to reach a particular aim in harmony with one another (some of the exponents of the above theory believe in it too), "what ought to be" is inherent in "what is" or to put it in a better way, creation without a purpose is meaningless. Based on this the possibility of changing a thing into different things under the same condition of a fixed relationship with other things is evident, meaning either the multiplying of time and object of a thing or absence of a clear identity.

Of course this issue does not repudiate human will because the authority to sovereignty governs over relationship and power to choose; rather, than the power to change the results of clear relations. Meaning man can touch fire or not touch it but he cannot touch fire, and will that his hand does not burn while possessing all characteristics required for burning. The human is

not such that it can rule over the whole world and be able to change the course of the general events. Like other things in the world, human will is limited and it has special traits and signs. Similarly, we should not make the mistake of relating objects and means of the universe to the values governing them, as it will create the suspicion that laws of these objects by understanding them. Hence divine revelation will be out of place; because man is neither capable of recognizing the signs of their deeds in the after world and their positions, because the after world lies outside the scope of sense, experimental recognition or abstract recognition and apart through revelation, there is no other way to get there, and nor can he understand the relations of an object with other objects and nor is he able to know all the aspects and signs of an object. In other words, the essence of an object can be known by its signs and the signs of an object are attainable through having relationship and friction with other objects and it is axiomatic that man cannot relate an object with other objects and cannot observe its signs at this moment and in the future; rather, always a limited connection of an object can be calculated and it is obvious that we cannot issue a command thought such limited knowledge. In as much as knowing a feature, totally changes the position of an object in the system of perception and demands other dos and don'ts. Secondly, in recognizing the same relationship or the dimensions of an object, there is a margin of error no matter how compatible it is with precise standards and tools of knowledge including objective and intellectual tools but at the same time there exists a reliable modicum of certainty. For instance when measuring something in line with the tools of measurement (weighing scales and other more accurate measuring instruments), we can obtain measurements which will be more accurate in every stage but it is clear that at every stage there is some error. The same is also true about the laws of perception where the more accurate they are the better the knowledge and hence the fewer the errors. The development of science lies in reducing the errors rather than eliminating them completely, which is out of the question for man who is not infallible. In view of these features, is not possible for man to acquire perfect, accurate and genuine knowledge in order to be able to get at their principles but man should make use of legislative and formative relations in order to organize his knowledge based on values and not vice-versa.

Here we set forth more complicated theories of the theory of separating religion from politics which touches upon general conclusions drawn from logical and philosophical discussions with the intent to separate the sphere of divine revelation from that of social issues. Based on this viewpoint,

“reason”, “revelation” and “sense” have three separate and distinct functions and each one of them must be placed in a particular category because when each one of them interferes with the other, it results in disruption and problems. The function of revelation is to explicate the values and commands or dos and don’ts. The function of sense—with the various indices that they have—is to obtain and perceive visible signs of creatures as well as issues related to the natural and social world and the intellect has four positions as follows:

- a) General theoretical concepts or proving the principles of beliefs and global view,
- b) Understanding and drawing conclusion from the commands of Qur’an and traditions,
- c) Identifying the truism of common sense,
- d) Identifying the limits, restrictions and conditions of actualizing of general religious commandments.

Now, if someone mixes these three different and separate areas together and does not know the proper area of their respective functions he will commit big mistakes. For instance, if someone wants to acquire “logic, philosophy, and the principles of beliefs” “The values, rules and the way man deals with and reacts to problem” also through “sense and experience” and considers himself not needing revelation and reason, he will be mistaken. Also, a person who considers reason to be enough to acquire “values and dos and don’ts” and “figuring out tangibles” and does not think it necessary to use “The texts of revelation” and “sense and experience” he will have made a mistake. If someone wants to substitute revelation for reason, sense and experience, he will have made a big mistake as well. Hence, it is necessary to use each one of these issues in its own context, which is to employ “revelation in the context of values, reason in the context of rationality, and sense in the context of feelings.”¹

The proponents of this attitude state that:

Besides the fact that reason, sense, and revelation are responsible for a particular sphere, basically they are not related to each other because if they were related, it would be possible to reach one of them through the other. For instance, man by relying on feeling and experience, he could gain ultimate of experience and draw generalizations and attain the result of general theoretical discussions; or he could reach the principles of dos and don’ts (in

¹ Refer to: *Wisdom and Government*, Mahdī Hā’irī.

the same means that some philosophical doctrine claim) where as this matter is impossible because, for instance, if man could acquire the principles of dos and don'ts in this way and rely only on experimental knowledge of subject, then there would be no need to send prophets. Likewise, if it was possible to acquire all the necessary information for living and to know things, though Divine revelation, then considers that revelation is permanent, the information and life of Muslims should have been similar to that at the dawn of Islam and Islam would declare that it has provided you with everything and that there is no need for science or the knowledge of the universe and research of subjects while Islam emphasizes on traveling around the world and learning from it and give great importance to science and knowledge.

Therefore, it becomes obvious that the spheres of reason, revelation and sense are separate from each other and there is no relationship among them and mixing them brings about some deviations and mistakes. Hence, one can conclude that recognition of issues, analyzing and planning them is the function of mind and they have nothing to do with religion.

They also claim that each of these three spheres has a measure of correctness appropriate to itself, not that one of them would be the criterion of correctness of the other. It means that the mistakes related to sense should be corrected by sense and experience and the mistakes of the mind should be corrected by mind and thinking. Therefore, according to the above-mentioned reasoning, we can briefly conclude that all the objective of social affairs which can be realized and understood through sense and the mind are distinct from revelation.

In response to what was mentioned above, we should say that although, for instance, we deduce from earlier topics, Divine revelation doesn't determine whether the glass of water in our hand is warm or cold or the color of that book is red or blue, rather, these topics are answered by feelings which answers these issues and although revelation does not determine the drawn from particular signs recognized sense and it is the duty of the mind to determine it. For instance, if a spoon inside a glass of water appears to be broken but it isn't, it is mind that realizes the mistake of sense and not revelation; and although revelation doesn't determine the truism of mind or the principles of logic and reasoning although the understanding revelation and interpretation of the canon is the responsibility of the mind; and unless the mind does nor complement of the beliefs and global perspective or doesn't prove the necessity of worship or comprehended it, then obeying the commands of God is meaningless. However, these three issues are contradictory to one another and as it was mentioned, the formative creation

is synchronized with legislative creation and the world is a harmonious world. Hence, although each one has a particular criterion, but the criterion of each one determines the correctness of the other one as well. In other words, the criterion of correctness is also one that in every part is limited by its own feature. If the heart of man has a particular belief, his mind cannot go in a divergent direction and his sense cannot declare something contradictory to mind and heart. If mind along with heart proves that the universe is created man is free and responsible and must follow Divine decrees, and these decrees are in harmony and compatible with the reality of the universe, these rules are consistent with the facts of world, then the mind will find its path and particular thinks of particular issues and determine particular scopes and areas for itself while heart does not pursue every kind of sign. The attempt of mind and heart in these areas and perceiving new experiences and applying the accomplishments of revelation strengthen the principles of belief and make it clearer and help man understand his weakness and consequently his need for God better and to compel him to obey the commands of God and carry out a command. This will in turn open new and more perfect and clear ways for the mind and heart and won't end up in a vicious cycle. This is because every step and stage is different from the previous one and it moves from brevity to detail and from imperfection to perfection. Therefore, following Islam makes the mind and heart research a particular scope and area and prevents them from being involved in other areas and Muslims are not allowed to experience everything as in other religious and even in irreligious doctrine, the mind and heart don't get involved in another particular spheres and basically, in a society compatible with the beliefs, attitudes and practices of the individual of that society, the issues and affairs will be realized while retaining all the qualities pertaining to the same society. Therefore, a particular ground for the motion of sense and thought is created. Hence, the idea that sciences and human accomplishments are like a lever and tool which can be applied everywhere and to every device and does not belong to a particular school of thought should be scrutinized at length.

Today, what is taught in different centers and what is transferred as technology and its products as ways and means of facilitating the affairs of this and that country should be studied from three angels:

The first point is to determine the role of motivation in discovery, finding and application of sciences, technology and their products. We should reflect whether a researcher and scientist wants to solve a particular problem in his research and experiments or he is researching and experimenting aimlessly and uncontrollably and discovering new things by chance. If he is looking for

a missing link and finding solution to solve a particular problem then this missing link is the product of which system? If we accept that man is free in this world and the abuse of this freedom is possible and we accept that the contrary also holds true, as it is possible to act on will, then can we apply the products of every motivation and every thought system everywhere and consider it to be beneficent. For instance, if there is a society in which alcohol is not considered profane and isn't forbidden and is cheap and available in and plenty while some products are produced mixed with alcohol in order to prevent them from decaying, like some foods and drugs, can we use these products in an Islamic society in non-emergency situation? Is there any motivation to explore other materials or techniques which can prevent decay in order to substitute them for alcohol in non Islamic societies? Are the conditions the same in an Islamic society where alcohol is forbidden? Is it possible to accept that the exalted God who has forbidden alcohol, has not provided another technique to preserve these drugs and foods from decay? If there isn't any other technique, isn't there another drug that does not need alcohol for preservation so as to replace that drug? Is it possible to accept that the exalted God has forbidden that which is necessary for man?

The second point under consideration is to determine the role of the principles of subjectivity, undefined scopes or the primary definitions of technology and sciences.

If all the definitions of a science go back to the primary definitions and if the soundness of laws and deductions goes back to the soundness of the fundamental or subjective principles, then is it possible to determine accurately where these definitions and principles end and where they go back to? Are they not proven in a more comprehensive science and on this basis do sciences have a particular classification? If so, then what is the most comprehensive science? Is the issue of what is the most comprehensive science not the same as that of the most comprehensive issue? The most comprehensive issue is that of existence and the most comprehensive science is that of philosophy. Do a particular thought, philosophy, and global perspective provide some subjective principles and rudimentary limits for other sciences, directly or indirectly? Isn't the imprints of material philosophy and thought seen in eastern and western sciences, civilization, and technology?¹

¹ "The Relationship among Religion, Science and Philosophy" Sayyid Muḥammad-Mahdī Mīr Bāqirī, *Fajr-e Wilāyah*, p. 16.

The third basic point is to determine the role of logic in the way sciences are classified. Does the way of combining the preliminaries bring about change? How can we understand that the preliminaries have been linked together correctly? Is the establishment of correct relationship dependent on the observation of particular rules and laws? Are all human information of one kind? Is it possible to accept that information that has order and organization in a one domain does not have any coherence and order in the other? If the information of man is divided into several categories, can we adopt a part of our information with particular laws and group the other part with laws opposed to the first one and then organize them?

If the soundness of inferences goes back to these laws and rules where does this soundness end?

Words like "our politics and our religion are the same" and "religion is not separate from politics" and its like, are words that contain precise meaning and we should not pass over them easily, rather, we should review all the probabilities with respect to their meanings and then choose the most perfect and satisfactory one.

The first probability which comes to mind concerning relationship of religion and politics is to say that social managers from the highest rank to the lowest one should be selected from the pious, righteous and virtuous Muslims. It means that running the affairs at all levels and stages, from general management of the country to ministries, embassies, general organizations, political, economic, and cultural centers and basically any cultural social institutions should be under the supervision of the most competent Muslims.

If implementing religion in politics culminates right here and if it is assumed that only with this action the community will become Islamic it will not be long before non-Islamic signs of emerge and those who limited the involvement of religion in politics, only to these issues are forced to accuse the managers of ill will or lack of piety and commitment, whereas this idea is imperfect, because although to form an Islamic institution or society or to Islamize an institution it is necessary that committed Muslim managers be employed. However, this condition is not enough and we can only hope that a pious and virtuous Muslim manager will observe other Islamic conditions at the workplace and Islamize that institution, because it is obvious that an institution is formed to fulfill a particular purpose and its different parts and elements and the way they are linked together (including the relationship among human beings, the relationship between man and tools, and the relationship between men and materials etc. are designed in order to help,

accomplish, deliver and protect that particular objective. Now whenever the objectives, parts, elements, and internal and external relations of this institution deviate from Islam, we can not claim that everything is Islamic simply by replacing the manager. For instance, we cannot assume that by appointing a Muslim and virtuous manager at a bank based on usury it has been Islamized and claim that by having such a manager we prevent embezzlement, irresponsibility, and carelessness and that the bank is disciplined and etc...rather, its obvious that such a bank has a prominent role in the economy and even culture and politics of a country and because it was established based on usury, this issue affects all its internal and external workings including determination of rate of interest for various transformations; credits and method of determining its amount and mode; determining and controlling vol. of money in circulation; application of financial disciplines; determining various indices in economic and even poetical and cultural changes and determining health and sickness of the banking and economic system and so forth. The situation is similar in all organizations based on concentration of complicit or monopoly and delegation of divine authority of individuals and society.

Another probability which may come to mind with respect to the relationship between politics and religion is that apart from the fact that virtuous individuals should run different organizations, the moral relationship between individuals, including managers, workers, and employees should be Islamic as well. They should respect each other, and observe their brotherhood rights toward each other, they should outdo each other in greeting; the managers should not be hard on his employees and the employees should obey the managers and they should avoid wasting time, materials and instruments. The managers should pay the employees their salaries on time and they should try to solve their problems and meet their needs, they should avoid vice and depravity and avoid impinging on others' possessions. The women should wear the Islamic veil, and suspicion which is the origin of lots of sins should be eradicated in the society, backbiting and accusation should be replaced with praise and compliment. They should admonish fellow believers to do the right thing and shun sin etc. This matter is a necessary condition and as was mentioned before any organization established with the aim of achieving a particular objective and its entire practices and relations should be geared toward fulfilling the same objective and we cannot consider every objective and manner of activity and communication and adjustment to be Islamic or claim that being Islamic or non-Islamic does not make any difference. If we appoint the most virtuous

managers at a wine-making factory and employ individuals imbibed with Islamic ethics and a totally Islamic behavior towards each other without making a basic change in the production line, then can we say that this factory has been Islamized? Of course, it is evident that in this case, they shall never allow the factory to continue with its previous activities, but, we discuss this fact that an organization cannot be Islamized only by employing virtuous and committed managers and employees; rather, there are some other aspects which should be tested against the enlightening commandments of Islam. It is also obvious that the contraries and systems with the commandments as in above instance is not always clearly describable; rather, in some instances it also has many virtues that camouflage the contradictions and conflicts with Islam like a veil. For instance, if we consider an afflicted factory which assembles fruit juicer appliances or any other similar non-essential product, at first sight it seems that the factory has been set up to provide lots of people with jobs, its products make life easier for Muslims. However, if we review the other relations of this factory, it will become obvious that this way the country will end up being dependent on non-Muslims and outsiders to the extent of producing every unit of appliance. Then no longer can one say that this is an Islamic factory, even if its employees and managers are Muslims.

Also, if a factory manufacturing clothing operates in a manner so that it propagates non-Islamic culture (including the quality of production, distribution, advertising and etc,) we cannot accept it only because we need to provide clothes for Muslims and if a centralized or a big factory is built (by private or public sector) which for example provides shoes for half the population and it would be deduced that centralized and mass production decreases the costs and the products would be supplied at cheaper prices, we cannot consider it Islamic without studying and analyzing it; rather, we should determine what repercussions and costs this centralization of power and wealth entails. Does not it need monopoly in production, distribution, and budgets or does not? Does it enhance its wealth and power or not? Does this lead to the bankruptcy of small factories or not and etc? Hence, we can say that there are other factors besides the management of Muslims and Islamic ethics which should be taken into account.

Another probability with respect to the subject of "The relationship between religion and politics" is the relationship between an Islamic country and other countries should be based on Islam. We should help Muslims in the area of foreign relations in order to free them from the domination of oppressed colonialist and assist freedom movements in fight against evil

powers of the west and east. We should send financial assistances to the poor of the world and send some groups of preachers to other countries to make them familiar with life-giving rules of Islam. We should hold political-cultural meetings to strengthen the unity of the poor countries of the world so that they can stand up against global hegemony, and we should put the atheists, polytheists, and enemies of Islam and humanity under pressure etc. However, although the mentioned issue is a necessary condition but it isn't sufficient.

However, what can be accepted as a more complete meaning of relationship between religion and politics is that as according to our beliefs, Islam is a perfect religion which establishes rules governing in all individual, social, domestic, foreign, worship morality, relationships, cultural, management and economic subjects, thus we can consider politics as Islamic when the individual and social functions are related to religion and when all recognized aspects are based on the divine rules. This was what all prophets and the righteous Imāms and their sincere followers were trying to attain through establishing an Islamic rule and not that only virtuous people get chosen for public administration or that only the morality and worship of the people be divine; or war and peace with respect to its mere military aspect follow divine limits while other affairs are forgotten and the people to do whatever they desire. The Islamic government is quite different from rule of Muslim masses. The former is based on divine rules and the latter is based on human opinion, recommendations and interest.

What the Imām of nation, Mudarris, and Shaykh Faḍlullāh and their like pursued was that not only should society be governed by people who have more knowledge about what God has permitted and forbidden, but also the regime should be Islamic including its domestic and foreign relations, features, and big and small workings. Not only should management with respect to hierarchy, organizational chart and the way people behave and how they relate be compatible with Islam, rather, the domestic and foreign policy making and planning should conform with the divine commands. If we make the mistake of not bringing Islam to bear on economic-policies and planning, including business, the type of production, distribution, and consumption, monetary relations, industrial system, agricultural or cultural policies, including the educational system, guiding research, and the way different individuals behave towards each other, or the way individuals behave toward the regime or vice versa, and establish as management policies including different methods of reward and punishment and demotion, or to say that these kind of affairs have nothing to do with

Islam or faithlessness, then the necessity of establishing a government will be eliminated and if the absence of an Islamic government, moral and social behavior and eve worships and individual ethics will be affected by humanistic doctrines and be removed from divine rules.

In the discussion of Supreme Authority of Religion Jurisprudence Imām Khomeinī states:

Another reason why establishing government is necessary is the nature and quality of the laws of Islam. The nature and quality of these laws indicate that they have been designed for establishment of a government for the political, economic and cultural administration of society. The religious rules include various rules which go into the making of a whole social system. All of man's needs have been provided in this legal system, such as the way of socializing with neighbors, children, tribe, relatives, fellow citizens, private affairs, married life, the rules of war and peace, relations with other nations, penal laws, business laws, industry and agriculture ... Qur'an and the tradition include all the rules needed for man's happiness and perfection. There is a chapter in the book entitled "*Kāfi*" that addresses all people's needs and the holy book Qur'an addresses all the things and affairs. The Imām swears that whatever a nation needs, no doubt can be found in Qur'an and tradition.¹

The above-mentioned issue makes the proposition of the relationship between religion and politics. Based on this, every kind of imitation of politics, planning and systems of the East and West or the rest of products of the weak and corrupted human minds is severance of religion from politics in the same division. If we accept the method of implementation and the scientific politics of international orders, inadvertently particular culture and values compatible with that policy-making will penetrate into the society of Muslims. Politics in the sense of the quality of man's performance even influences some of his sincere beliefs and thoughts in the smaller and significant actions, and if someone acts on what he believes in, the probability of its occurrence in society exists as well. However, we should explicate this important point finally that as we don't live in a vacuum, it is impossible to establish an Islamic government which is based exactly on the commandments in all its domestic and foreign aspects, rather, we need the passage of time to fulfill this purpose and it can reach a stage where all the social programs are based on divine rules and domestic and foreign relationship turn into Islamic ones with the aid of Supreme Religious

¹ *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, Imām Khomeinī, p. 56.

Authority and the management of committed and virtuous Muslims which is a basic condition and through their guidance and supervision.

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Involvement of Religion in the Social, Political, and Scientific Domains from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī

Muhammad-Riḍā Muṣṭafā-Pūr

One of the important and serious discussions in the domain of theology is defining the scope of religious teachings and instructions and explaining whether the religion which was brought forth to guide man covers all spheres and aspects of human life, including individual and social, material and spiritual, worldly and heavenly, spiritual and physical life or has it come just to guide man in respect of his individual and private life? Is there any need for religion to get involved in the areas which man can understand through science and reason? What are the purposes of religion? Is it material or spiritual or both of them? Have the prophets called upon the people to believe in God and the afterlife and left other things for man himself to regulate through reason and knowledge? In other words, is it the purpose of religion just to illuminate the facts which man could not get at through reason or has it explained everything to man? If the scope of religion encompasses all aspects of man's life then how should it be like? How profound is it? Has it defined the objectives, aspirations and values what the most or the least is? Has it defined the purposes, ends, and values or has it defined the methods as well? Has it also explained the system or has it determined the systems besides the values, ends, goals, and principles for governing society the political and economic aspects or has it left it to the reason of man to determine? In fact two basic questions can be posed here. (1) What is the

scope of religion or has it come to guide man in the spiritual, individual and private life or has it come to guide man in all aspects of life? (2) If the answer is that religion has a scheme for all areas and aspects of man's life then what are its limits and in what manner? Has it come up with what the maximum or minimum answers? Has it explained the values or has it explained the methods as well.

In response to these question theologians have expressed various views.

Western theologians maintain that whatever man can understand through reason and knowledge should be separated from whatever lies within the scope of religion and the ideology of secularism is set forth based on this attitude. They say that religion should be excluded from man's material life and it should be limited to his spiritual, individual and private life and things like economy, politics and other worldly issues should be delegated to reason and science. It is due to this attitude that religion in western culture is assigned to spirituality, prayer and worship in the church and on specific days.

Some western theologians have confined religion to inner faith in God and they consider religious laws as an accidental issue. As a writer puts it: Jesus and Saint Paul who is considered to be the greatest commentator on Christianity in the New Testament believes that salvation of man lies in having faith in God's grace and kindness and not by acting on religious laws and even Jesus and Saint Paul challenged the idea of Christianity as a canon.

"Both Jesus and Paul fought against the idea of considering Christianity as a canon, meaning that by carrying out some rules you can please God and get heavenly reward. Early Christians led by Paul realized that considering Christianity as a canon, meaning being rewarded by God for acting on some canons, is erroneous in principle because it turns it into business and transaction. Jesus and Saint Paul presented salvation as lying in faith in God's grace and kindness instead of holding out hope for salvation through viewing Christianity as a law. This belief is implicit in Jesus teachings and is explicit in Paul's teachings."¹

Some western theologians see the aim of a true religion as moral training and religious law as an accidental issue. As Hegel puts it in the book of the consolidation of religious law in Christianity "The purpose and nature on a true religion—including our religion—is moral training and the value and scale of consecrating the entire Christian-specific teachings is more or less

¹ William Hordon, *Protestant Theology Guidance*, translated by Tatab Ves Miabilyan, p. 10-11.

bound up with this aim.”¹ Concerning whether or not religious law is an accidental issue whereby it can be eliminated or inherent, he writes, “There are two attitudes toward this issue; an attitude which states that Jesus is an instructor of mainly a moral religion which by no means has any legislative aspect and contrary to this, there is a group that says that: certainly, religion involves the principles of virtue but it has some mandatory rules as well whose purpose is to enjoy the Divine Favor through worship, feelings and deeds rather than mere morality alone.” Next, he makes a distinction between these attitudes saying that

“According to the former attitude, the legislative element is not an inherent part of religion and therefore we can exclude it but according to the latter attitude, the legislative element of religion is as holy and as important as the moral principles.”²

Based on the existing mind set in the western and Christian world when they talk about religion, they have in mind a kind of Christianity which forces man to take a stand against religion on account of indecent malpractice of the church and foolish acts and makes him want to exclude religion from man’s life or to separate it from all worldly aspects of man. For this reason, following the renaissance, two groups emerged with antithetical motivation to limit religion namely, the atheists, actuated by the need to be saved from religion, demanded the separation of religion from worldly affairs and to exclude it from social life; and the monotheists, motivated by a need to maintain religion and its sanctity and out of concern for religion and to safeguard it, eliminated it from worldly affairs and confined it to the heart of man and his private and individual life.

The origin of this attitude can be traced back to the practices of the leaders of the church especially in the Middle Ages and it also goes back to the content of the bible. The bible which presents the greatest crime committed by man as awareness and the first thing that God forbade was consuming from the tree of knowledge, invites man to darkness and to accept oppression and includes preposterous things like incarnation of God and so forth. For instance, in the Old Testament in chapter two and three man has been prohibited from eating from the tree of knowledge and it says: “When Adam and Eve ate from the tree of knowledge and became aware of evil and

¹ Hegel, *Establishment of Religious Law in Christianity*, translated by Bāqir Pūrham, p. 36.

² Ibid, p. 40-41.

good, God expelled them from heaven.”¹ Regarding submitting to oppression, it says:

“Have not you heard that it has been said an eye for eye and a tooth for a tooth but I say to you don’t stand up against the wicked and if someone slaps you on one cheek, turn the other one to him; and if someone wants to fight you and take away your cloak, give it to him and if someone wants to force you to walk with him one mile, walk with him two miles.”²

Such issues have convinced thinkers in the west to think in secular terms and no separate material life from religion. This has led to the downfall of religion in the west.

In this article, we intend to define Imām Khomeinī’s viewpoint with respect to the question of religion and the scope of its involvement in different domains. Hence we should note that by religion we mean Islam and we believe that there are differences between Islam and the existing Christianity some of which are as follows:

1- The simplicity, clarity, rationality and comprehensibility of the Islamic teachings compared to Christianity and its teachings which from the beginning has been based on illogical, mysterious, incomprehensible and worshipment issues. This difference is clear and blatant

2- Among all scientific researchers there is a consensus on the fact that Qur’an is the book of God and frequently it has been mentioned that Qur’an was written by God there is double attributing the Bible to Jesus.

3- Qur’an has never been altered whereas other holy books have been. In light of these differences, the main point of our discussion is Islam.

In response to the question of what is the scope of Islam, different views have been expressed. Some thinkers have answered it by looking at it from “what humanity expects from religion” and they consider it as an issue lying outside the scope of religion saying that “Firstly, we must know what we expect from religion and determine the needs we should meet by referring to religion. Secondly, we must know the purpose of religion and the prophet’s mission. Thirdly, in response to what humanity expects from religion and knowing the main purpose of religion, they have embarked on issues such as the essence and outer shell of religion and what is intrinsic and extrinsic to religion and they have stated, “Religion has an intrinsic essence which determines its nature and the jurisprudential, social and moral rules of

¹ The Old Testament, chapter of creation, second and third chapters, verse 17-18.

² Mata bible, fifth chapter, verses, 42-49.

religion such as its Arabism plus its distortions and innovations as being incidental to it.”

With regard to the involvement of religion in social, political, economic, and scientific domains Imām Khomeinī states:

“Islam is a doctrine that contrary to non-monotheistic doctrines, involves itself in and regulates all individual, social, material, spiritual, cultural, political and economic affairs. It has not overlooked the minutest point and is involved in training man and society as well as in material and spiritual development. It has explained the obstacles and problems on the way of attaining perfection in the society and it has plans for their eradication.”¹

According to these views, we must first define Imām Khomeinī's principles on to this issue and then conclude what the scope of the involvement of religion is in the life of man. The issues set forth in the context of this matter are as follows:

1. The reasons why man needs religion from Imām Khomeinī's perspective
2. The purpose behind the prophet's mission
3. The sources of religion from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint
4. The perfection and comprehensiveness of religion and its scope
5. some reasons behind opposing the involvement of religion in man's material life

1) Man's need for religion

One way to determine the scope of religious involvement in man's life is to determine the origin of man's need for it, because if we recognize that man has potentials, dimensions and needs which can only be realized through religion and not through reason and science then it would become evident that man needs a source other than reason and science.

1- Man's need for religion is because complicity of his being

Imām Khomeinī regards the origin of man's need for religion as lying in how he is viewed. He says:

Since man has two dimensions and partakes of both material and spiritual, natural and metaphysical and the existing relationship between them, he

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 188.

needs religion and divine revelation. If man had only material and animal facets then there would be no need for prophets. They have come to make him aware of his needs and develop his potentials, because man cannot have perfect understanding of his needs, potentials and his sublime spiritual capabilities only through human sciences and without the aid of divine revelation. If a human being was limited to just this nature and he could not achieve anything beyond it, there would not be any need for an unseen force to train him and particularly his supernatural aspect. However, since it is a fact that man is distinct from this world, his features indicate something beyond this nature and by referring to proven arguments in philosophy, there is something beyond the natural in human being and he potentially has lofty, independent mind which turns into an absolute independent abstract mind. Training of that aspect which is spiritual aspect of man must be undertaken by a person that has knowledge—real knowledge—of the other side and has knowledge of relationship between man and the other side of nature. He must be capable of understanding those relationships and as these relationships are not visible to man, the exalted God who is the creator of everything is aware of these relationships, has sent down revelation certain individuals that have attained perfection.”¹

He also states,

“If human being could develop just as much as animals did, there would not be any need for prophets ... the reason why he needs prophets is that man is different from animals in that he has some spiritual aspects—aspects beyond human reason. He can achieve a status we don’t know what to interpret. There are different names for it, for instance, “immortality”, “divinity” that interpretation because training human beings involves all his aspects and dimensions, physical, spiritual and intellectual while beyond that is out of his power. He needs prophets, because he isn’t aware of his needs and the manner of his training vis-à-vis spiritual aspect. A human beings can only understand the natural world and not beyond it. “If he understands the relationship between man and nature and supposes that everything has become known to him and all is at the natural level, and he has not understood that side.”²

According to what the Imām said, it is obvious that he considers man from a philosophic and spiritual perspective, as a being having infinite dimensions. He believes that man cannot be understood through the existing

¹ Ibid, p. 186.

² Ibid.

human sciences which are imperfect and limited, but we can gain a perfect understanding of man only through the guidance provided by God.

2- Man's need for religion is due to his need for law

One of the ways by which Imām Khomeinī defines man's need for religion and divine revelation is through his need for laws because man is a social being and firstly he needs law and government. Secondly, the law must consider the entire interests of man, which are made up of material and spiritual ones, because the aim is to provide man with happiness and not just his material wellbeing. Thirdly, man is not qualified to formulate laws because, on the one hand, he has a strictly material view of life and he wants to make a living while on the other, he is incapable of formulating comprehensive laws due to his being weak and limited understanding and due to his having ulterior personal and group motives. Therefore, it is upon God to satisfy this need for law through divine revelation.¹

3- Man's need for religion is due to his need for spiritual education

In Imām Khomeinī's view, man has some levels and ranking that extend from nature to world of divinity and he needs training for his development and perfection in these spheres which is not possible except through religion. This is because God is aware of man and his existential dimensions and potentials and only he can design a fitting scheme that covers all dimensions and potentials of man.

"Man is a being who can achieve the highest plane of happiness...there is latent plane, an intellectual plane and a levels higher than the innate in the nature of man. It has been in his nature from the beginning that he can transcend the world of nature to achieve a level beyond our imagination. He needs training to achieve these aims. As there are appropriate training for nature there are also appropriate training for other levels most of which man cannot understand."²

The Imām believes that as religious law and jurisprudence guide the ordinary and spiritual life toward transcendental purposes and values, they are prelude and entrance to the inner aspect and spiritual behavior and those mystics and secrets can be safeguarded through external rituals.

¹ Disclosure of secrets (*Kashf al-Asrār*, p. 181, 184, 291, 213.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 532.

Therefore, in Imām Khomeinī's reasoning, man needs religion in every aspect of his life, because, although he might become aware of the world, nature and his material needs and design an appropriate program for it. However, as the inner aspect and spiritual effect of each deed is hidden and unknown to him, and since there is a relationship between the worldly and the divine, there must be someone to connect the two concerning the individual and social aspects, which is God Himself.

2) The purpose of the prophets' mission

One of the principles of defining the scope of religion and its involvement in the social, political, economic and practical arenas is to explain the purpose behind appointment of prophets. We need to determine whether the prophets' mission is to provide man with only heavenly and spiritual happiness or it has worldly objective as well. Moreover, as they have summoned man to believe in God and the hereafter, they have had plans to improve man's worldly life too. In other words, in addition to spiritual guidance of man towards God and the hereafter and consequently, securing the happiness in the afterlife of man, were the prophets involved in reforming and development of the worldly life man as well?

Some thinkers believe that the purpose of the prophets has been nothing other than inviting man to believe in God and the hereafter and that they came to familiarize man with monotheism and after life and help people prepare themselves to enjoy heavenly life by controlling their soul of carnality.

“Based on the definition of supporters who believe that the prophets were sent by God are for man, their actions and missions can be summed up in two parts:

- 1- Staging a great universal revolution against man's self-centeredness and guiding him toward the Creator of the Universe.
- 2- Proclaim that the future eternal world is, infinitely bigger than this one.”¹

This writer insists that the main objective of religion and prophetic mission is nothing other than belief in God and the hereafter and they have not been sent to control the world and get involved in politics and things like that.

¹ Mahdī Bazirgan, *the Hereafter and God's Purpose behind Sending Prophets*, p. 37.

About the main aim of religion, another writer says that, "In response to the question whether religion has come to solve worldly issues or other problems, four assumptions are put forward, the first assumption is that religion came neither to solve worldly issues nor to solve heavenly ones, of course is not true. The second assumption is that religion is a worldly doctrine and it is a worldly chapter of this canon. The third assumption is that the aim of religion is only the hereafter. The fourth one is that religion has come to provide man with worldly and heavenly happiness. He adds that, "among these four assumptions the first one isn't true and the second one isn't acceptable by religious people while in the fourth assumption, we must know which one is a preliminary and in the service of the other and what is meant by subordinating the hereafter to this world. He finally accepts the third assumption and says that, the aim of religion is the hereafter. It means that religion has basically been revealed for the afterlife and pursues that and it has restored to worldly affairs to the extent that the material world is capable of finding the afterlife.

"According to this view point, the purpose of religion basically is to provide man with happiness; but since the path of we human beings passes through the world, it is considered by religion in as much as it can be an impediment or a facilitator for heavenly affairs. It is inevitable for religion to secure the happiness of the afterlife and pursuant to that to restore to affair of material world as well."¹

According to what was mentioned above, we notice that some thinkers consider the purpose of prophetic missions to be God and afterlife or simply, the afterlife. However, by referring to religious texts, we note that there are some verses in Qur'an calling man for monotheism, worship of God² and avoiding evil³, and there are some other verses which consider the main mission of prophets to be an invitation to the afterlife⁴, spiritual purification⁵, teaching Qur'an and wisdom, freeing man for chains and shackles of ignorance, establishing social justice and fighting against social corruptions.⁶

¹ 'Abdulkarīm Sorūsh, *Caution and Management*, p. 181-191.

² *Sūrah Nahl*, 16: 36.

³ *Sūrah al-A'rāf*, 7: 59.

⁴ *Sūrah al-Jumu'ah*, 62: 2.

⁵ *Sūrah al-A'rāf*, 7:157.

⁶ *Sūrah al-Hādīd*, 57: 21, *Sūrah al-Hūd*, 11: 88; *Sūrah ash-Shu'arā'*, 26: 151.

Shahīd Muṭahharī while reviewing the aims of prophetic missions regards two purposes as the important objectives of prophets in the holy Qur'an.

He writes: there are four assumptions concerning the order of these two objectives namely:

1- Prophets have had two independent objectives a) social monotheism b) the individual theoretic and practical monotheism.

2- Main objective is social monotheism and practical and theoretical monotheism is preliminary to social monotheism.

3- The main objective is knowing God and nearness to Him. The social monotheism is the prelude to achieving this lofty purpose and since it is not possible to achieve it without preliminary, thus prophets restored to upholding justice and considering oppression. Therefore, social values such as justice, freedom, and equality do not have an inherent value; rather, their value lies in being preliminary and instruments.

4- This view is the same as the third one but with a difference which is, as the social and moral values are the means and preparatory stage of achieving the main and only value of human being, that is theology and worship, thus they have inherent value as well.

Shahīd Muṭahharī, after criticism and analyses of the above-mentioned assumptions, accepts the forth one!¹

Imām Khomeinī also regards three affairs as the main aims of religion 1- knowledge of God; 2- Building human beings; 3- Establishing a fair social system In his opinion the main purpose is knowing God and other ones are preliminaries. As he says "All objectives of prophets goes back to one phrase, and it is knowing God. This whole preparatory stage. If man has been called to perform good deeds and learning, it is all in order to emphasize one point common in the nature of all humans, and it is knowing God, this is the sublime aim"², He also adds "What prophets were appointed for and other affairs are just prelude to spread monotheism and people's recognition of the universe."³ With regard to other objectives, which are training man and upholding social justice, he says,

"Prophets had two main objectives, they were sent in order to develop people's spirituality and those potentials, to free the poor from under the

¹ Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, collection of works, vol. 2, p. 175-179.

² *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 284.

domination of hegemony: From the beginning, prophets have had these two duties—the spiritual duty which was to release people from the captivity of the carnal soul and to save them from tyranny. These were the prophet's duties. When one observes Moses and Abraham and what have been said about them in Qur'an, "He realizes that they also held the same two positions. The first being invitation of people to monotheism and the second being their liberation from tyranny and injustice."¹

In yet another interpretation, by referring to the verse of the *sūrah* "*Ḥadīd*" he states prophet that,

"All the objectives of prophets from the creation of man and humanity from the time of Adam until prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon them) has been to reform the society and to sacrifice the individual for the sake of society. No individual is placed higher than prophets, yet they sacrificed themselves for the for the sake society. The Eexalted God says: "*We sent down prophets and gave them the sacred verses; gave the yardstick and sent them.*"² The ultimate objective is that people uphold justice; to set up social justice in the society, oppressions be destroyed and the poor be taken care of and they arise to uphold justice. Then he continues, "*We sent down Iron.*" What is the relevance of this? Is it relevant that these objectives be achieved with Iron, with verses, with the scale, with Iron. Does it imply that if a person or a group decide to ruin society, to ruin a government which is the government of justice we should talk to them by verses? If they do not listen to, then by rational means, if they didn't again pay attention then with Iron."³

Concerning training of humans he says: Islam wants to train a perfect human meaning that to develop him naturally; to enable him to traverse the path of the afterlife and to grant him spiritual growth."⁴

Therefore, although prophets have had various purposes, but generally, their main and the sole objective is providing knowledge of God. Upholding justice while being a sacred objective and paving the way for human development, is also effective in the spiritual journey and attain of Divine proximity.

¹ Ibid., vol. 17, p. 527.

² *Sūrah al-Ḥadīd*, 57: 28.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 213.

⁴ Ibid., vol. 4, p. 9.

We can pave the way for the sublimity of man and his training through upholding social justice and consequently human potentials will be realized. Religion is involved in the world of man to uphold social justice because, upholding justice can be done through establishing a government, fighting against oppressors, and involving in economic, political, and legal issues. In other words a religious society should be established, a society with its economic, political, legal, and moral relationships organized within the framework of prophet's program, to uphold justice and remove the obstacles in its path.

The presence of religion in social spheres removes the obstacles of polytheism, deviation and chaos, and paves the way for God's servitude. Qur'an says: "*We sent down a prophet to the people so that they worship God and avoid the devil and tyranny.*"¹ Prophets came to call upon people to worship and to help him avoid the devil. This purpose is realized provided that prophets, besides delivering the revealed message, spiritual purification, and teaching Qur'an and wisdom, which paves the way for worship of God, also paves the way for avoiding the devil by upholding justice and getting rid of discrimination, inequality, oppression, and injustice. This can be achieved only when religion is involved in social, political, economic and legal areas, and with straight, facilitates the main objective of prophets, meaning spreading monotheism, knowing God and happiness in the afterlife.

Someone said "religion gets involved in worldly affairs so as to put aside troubles and to assist in the afterlife but ha has not made it clear how it gets involved and assists. However, we can say the troubles and disruptions of heavenly life and happiness is nothing but establishment of a political, economic, legal, and social system based on evil "*Tāghūt*" and the assistance in the afterlife is nothing but, social, economic, political and legal system based on monotheism and upholding justice.

Unfortunately, this writer considers religion as a private and individual issue and believes that it shouldn't get involved in social areas. Hence, some people according to the verse 28 of *sūrah al-Ḥadīd* which indicates the necessity of the presence of religion in social areas says:

"The meaning of the verse "*so that people set up justice*" as some people suggest and preach, is not to mobilize people to fight against oppression, dictatorship and colonialism or to spread justice and religion throughout the world, rather, it means that people, themselves by their deeds and behaviors uphold justice the Qur'an and the scale are their guidance in this path and

¹ *Sūrah an-Nahl*, 16: 36.

our ignorance, or deviation, they should not follow the path which brings about their separation from God, and deprives them of heaven and happiness.”¹

However, this view is superficial and is far removed from reality. Can we support the spreading and protection of religion in a society in which there is poverty, oppression and corruption, which destroys religion and morality can we spread and safeguard only by admonishing and preaching” Furthermore, if prophets only intended to propagate teachings, admonish people and prepare them for the hereafter, then there would be no need for armor (iron) and battle. As the above-mentioned verse considers the tools of upholding justice as iron, verses the Qur’an criteria and armors, it indicates that its aim is social justice. Some people say:

It is reasonable that God and his messengers help people in scale, information and teachings which are beyond the wisdom and scope of man while the present world with all its dimensions and its qualities doesn’t allow them to be understood, otherwise what’s the relevance and necessity of teaching things that man has sufficient potential to learn and achieve. Communication of messages and doing alterations and complementary tasks of the world at the level of people is not the job of the Creator of man and the universe and it is demoting the Prophet’s status to the level of characters like Marx, Pasteur, Gandhi and their likes. Thus, there is no need for God and his messengers to teach him the way of living and solving the individual and social issues”.²

Yet another writer says: “The word of true is that the wise should govern this world by rational policies”³ These statements are inconsistent with what has been expressed in religious texts, nor are they harmonious with rational principles and Imāms about the world, government, justice, and the way of living which we indicate in the section of religion sources.

Logic also or says that the world is situated on the route to the afterlife; therefore, this world should be organized in such a way that man’s afterlife will improve as well. Furthermore, there are important affairs in which if religion doesn’t assist man, he sustains a big damage, and experimenting every thing in the short span of life is not possible.

¹ *Kiyān Magazine*; issue No. 28, p. 54.

² Mahdī Bazirgānī, *Ibid*, p. 37-38.

³ ‘Abdulkarīm Sorūsh, *Caution and Management*, p. 253.

According to the Imām's principles, all man's individual and social actions, and even science and government have two aspects, worldly and heavenly as well as external and internal ones. However its worldly and external aspect is attainable by reason and science, while its spiritual aspect can only be known through God. On this subject he states: "There is only divine and democratic government which can provide man with happiness "No regime can govern and train man and human nations as merited like Islamic government, because non monotheistic regimes and those which have been created by people other than the prophets, assuming that they are absolutely honest and trustworthy can work for nation to the extent of their own insight. Does their insight match the scope of the enormity of man's existence and potential of human growth their outlook is limited; and as their outlook is limited, they can't play a role sufficient for man's enormous evidence since man whose stages of evolution starts from nature and ends in the supernatural order, to reach the status of divinity, to reach a place which is above God's angels and he can succeed in this way by proper education is bayonet the capability of this man.

Human being is not like an animal whose needs is limited to food and sleep, He is a external that every thing in the world exists in him intrinsically and potentially and must be realized.

The scope of all non-divine regimes is limited to nature, they can remove natural needs in a good way; for example, people traveled by horse and donkey in the past but now they travel by plane; providing medicine wasn't developed but now it is , there were natural sciences, now, they are perfect and will gain more perfection. However, all these are the limits of nature an with development of natural sciences they meet man's natural needs. They can't educate the aspect of the supernatural; none of natural sciences can achieve this. All human and non-divine government and regimes, even the supposedly righteous ones, do not get involved in what is related to man's inner nature.

"However, monotheistic schools, in which Islam is above all others, have come to train human beings; they did not come to make animals, having same perceptions and goals as of animals, but a little more than that; they did not came to make this. They came to make human being. The thing you said that no school is like Islam and no regime is like Islam; the meaning of this point is that Islam can educate man from the nature stage to the spirituality stage, to the over-spirituality stage. Non-Islamic and non-

monotheistic schools have nothing to do with metaphysics. Neither their minds nor their knowledge reach metaphysics.”¹

In the Imām’s opinion, the area of natural sciences is limited to nature and does not get involved in man’s inward nature, therefore religion does not consider natural sciences independently, but it should be regarded as a means for spirituality. “Islam doesn’t consider natural sciences independently; achieving any stage by natural sciences is not what Islam wants. Islam controls nature and leads man to oneness and monotheism. There are many rules of conduct which have been revealed so that these monotheistic schools-Islam is the most superior one- rectify man; they have not been brought to straighten out this animal that has little power of perception over the normal animal; they have come to build and train a human being. The thing you said about Islam being unparalleled by other schools and that there is no regime like it, is a point in the sense that it is Islam that can elevate man beyond this plane and raise him to spiritual plane and even beyond it. All the sciences and university abroad you are talking about, and they are worth while to be talked about, are just one p. of the universe, a p. finer than other ones. The world from the beginning to the end is intrinsically an absolutely insignificant creation and the sum of natural sciences is insignificant vis-à-vis Divine sciences; therefore all natural creatures are extremely insignificant vis-à-vis Divine creatures.

The difference between Islam and other schools is that it seeks another meaning in this nature; it seeks another meaning in medicine, in astronomy. A person who studies the glorious Qur’an will notice that it considers the spiritual aspect of natural sciences, not it’s natural one. All reasoning in Qur’an and laws are meant to transfer what is tangible to the world of reason, the world which has originality, and this nature is a resemblance of the world except that we live in nature, this resemblance we can see as an descending line. In a *ḥadīth* that says, “Allah has not viewed this world from a perspective of mercy since its dawn”². It doesn’t mean that mercy doesn’t exist in this world, but what is of consideration is beyond this world. Those who claim to know the world, the nobles of the world and man. They have a small insignificant aspect of this world and are contented while those who

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 8, p. 414.

² *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 7, p. 110; *Iḥyā’ al-‘Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 198.

claim to know Islam, they too have seen an insignificant level of Islam and are satisfied with it and they believe that they have understood Islam.”¹

In short, Islam wants that natural and unnatural sciences be controlled and revert to divine sciences and monotheism. Any science which has the divine aspect; it means that man by looking at nature would be able to see God in it; when he observes creatures, he would be able to see God in them. Islam has come to bring back all natural creatures to Divinity and all natural sciences to revert to divine science. The center of gravity of every science is monotheism, because the nature is a wave of the unseen universe.

Consequently, although man can understand lots of facts by reason and science, he needs religion, because the divine and invisible aspect of facts show the way of establishing relationship between the overt and divine and invisible world to man. Thus, although, the main purpose of religion is monotheism and knowledge of God and achieving happiness in the afterlife, however material and natural creatures and the domain of social, economics, political and scientific life is not unrelated to that main objective, therefore these affairs are not considered independently, but in the context of, which is monotheism and knowledge of God.

“Islam has considered all aspects of issues, Islam has rules for all aspects of issues, all issues related to the world such as politics, society, economy as well as all issues related to the afterworld which people are not aware of. Monotheistic religions have come to regard both sides of the issue and to present a program. They ignore none of the two sides, but consider both of them, especially Islam which, emphasizes more than other religions on this objective.”²

3) The source of religion and the scope of its involvement

One of the principles of defining the scope of religion's involvement in different domains is knowing the sources of religious. Are the sources of religious limited to religious texts and so-called quotations or the mind is also a source of religion? What manner is the relationship of religion with intellectual and quotational attainments?

According to the history of religious sciences and texts, religious sources are not limited to Qur'an and tradition, but as Qur'an and tradition are proofs, reason is proof as well. As the Imām Kāẓim said, “God has two arguments for the people; an outward one and an inward one. The outward one is the

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 8, p. 434.

² *Ibid*, vol. 10, p. 18.

prophets and Imāms and the inward one is the mind.¹ Jurisprudents whose job is to determine adult's duties in the domain of voluntary practices. In principles of religious jurisprudence, jurists regard to four sources as religious sources in the and say, "All Islamic issues in different grounds such as political, economic, social etc. like, worship and moral issues, in as much as they are related to man's deeds must be understood and elicited from Qur'an, the traditions, consensus and mind. Hence, some of the thinkers, contrary to those who consider the religious texts as the mere source of religion and consider what ever which is out of religious texts to be out of religious context divide the issues into extra-religious and intra-religious. They consider it as segmenting of the fact of religion and say "The fact of religion is God's will which sometimes can be discovered with assistance of the mind while occasionally, it can be revealed by narration and at times it can be discovered by using both of them independently or complementarily. In other words, the result of imitative mind and categorical intellectual standards or what is understood and elicited from the holy texts of Qur'an and tradition form the principles of Islamic tenets and it's on this basis that religion is not placed contrary to reason; rather, narration is placed opposite the mind so that, religion determines man's duties with the two wings of mind and narration.²

Of course, consensus is not an independent reason (proof) and considering that its proof with respect to its discovery is based on infallible opinion, it goes back to tradition. With regard to the above-mentioned point, it becomes obvious that the scope of the involvement of religion can be determined through these ways:

1) Through direct study and perception from Qur'an's texts and reliable narrative texts.

2) Through the mind meaning theoretical facts or philosophical and intellectual evidence, it can be substantiated; or through intellectual standards, practical rules can be deduced and issues of the practical mind which take shape through the intellectuals and human experience and become basis of extractions and assumptions. In other words, sometimes the mind can interfere in validating the sources of the Book and tradition and their being understood and sometimes, can issue a judgment concerning the contents of book and tradition and through a combination of the rule of the mind and religious commandment it can state their legitimacy. Sometimes, it

¹ *Uṣūl Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 16.

² *Abdullāh Jawādī Āmolī, Exegesis of Tasnīm*, vol. 1, p. 190.

can say something about the summery of book and traditions. In this way, if a verdict is elicited from the book and the tradition, the mind must obey it.

The relationship of religion with worldly issues in religious texts

With a passing look at the verses of the Qur'an and narrations of the Infallible Imāms, we conclude that Islam a universal and complete religions and has guidelines and laws for all aspects of human life.

The life-giving teachings of Islam provide man with worldly and heavenly happiness. Islam is involved in all issues of man's life including morality, economy, politics, training law etc. Other important and basic teachings of Islam are, "*Jihād* and defense, the way of Moslem's interaction with each other, their behavior towards the disbelievers enjoying good deeds and prohibition of bad deeds, arbitration and blood money, retribution, fighting against oppression and oppressors, education, the principles prevailing over economics, trade, agriculture, health planning and various other issues.

The view point of Imām Khomeinī who had known Islam thoroughly and profoundly and all its aspects and spheres, was a criterion from all contemporary Islamologists and Islamic writers, philosophers and mystics who believe that social, political, economic and other issues are not separate from the issues of Islam and consider Islam as the religion of politics, economy and government. Therefore, he said:

"The ratio of verses dealing with society to those dealing with worship in Qur'an is more than 100: 1. From among a set of the books on tradition which number about 50 books, and encompass all the laws and teachings of Islam, only 3 or 4 books are related to worship and man's duty toward God. While, some parts of them are related to morality, others are related to society, economy, law, politics and governing the society."¹

"The teachings of Qur'an and prophet's tradition on the subject of government and politics are more than in other fields"²

"Islam has everything. The Qur'an contains everything. The Qur'an "builds man"; it is a man-making book. Qur'an has everything. It has politics; it has jurisprudence, philosophy, and everything. Human being is everything and the Qur'an ensures all his needs. Man is a miracle in the whole universe and the Qur'an is a miracle that manages all people of all

¹ Imām Khomeinī, *Islamic Government*, p. 13.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 406.

strata. While it makes a jurist, it also makes a man of wisdom, philosopher, and warrior. A jurist must be a warrior while also being a jurist.”¹

“The Qur’an includes everything; it is a man-making book. As man is composed of different aspects, including spiritual, material, he has an external appearance and inner nature, the Qur’an has come to train man, it trains all his aspects. It fills all of man’s needs, the needs of a person and the ones related to him, the relationship of God’s features, the Judgment Day, the political and social issue and the issues of fighting against the disbelievers and so on.”²

As the sources of religion are filled with the facts related to various worldly issues of man such as economy, politics and etc, yet, how can some people claim that religion doesn’t have anything to do with man’s world. That politics is distinct from religion and religion from politics; or that religion is a personal and spiritual matter?

Imām Khomeinī believes that, such a belief results from two subjects: 1) lack of correct understanding of Islam; 2) The intrigue of colonialism and enemies of Islam whose slogan is separation of religion from politics

A) Lack of understanding of Islam: Some of the intellectuals in the world of Islam by following western thinkers in theological discussions, have brought these discussions into Islamic countries in the same form as they are proposed and referred to in the west. As these ideas are fresh, the Muslims have accepted them. Meanwhile, Islam has a book which beyond doubt is God’s own word and its subjects are compatible with science and the intellect and its contents are social guidelines. Thus, Imām Khomeinī stated that, “If a person questions that what Islam has got to do with living, this is due to lack of understanding of Islam, or when he says what does Islam have to do with politics, it’s fighting against Islam.”³

B) These thoughts have colonial origins and the separation of religion from politics is the slogan of colonialism. The colonialists and their agents instill into people’s mind this belief that religion belongs to the mosque and should do its duties and have nothing to do with social issues.

Their motive of spreading such thoughts is to misinform the teachings of Islam. By spreading such vile words in the form of ideas and thoughts, they intend to put true Islam from social scene and prohibit religious scholars from getting involved in politics.

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 287.

² *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 448.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 19.

On this subject, Imām Khomeinī, said:

“This slogan that politics is separate from religion is a colonial propaganda. They want to prohibit Muslim nations from getting involved in their own fate. In the sacred teachings of Islam, there are more discussions on political and social affairs than on devotional affairs. The way of the prophet of Islam regarding domestic affairs of Muslims and their foreign affairs indicates that one of the great responsibilities of the prophet is his political struggles. The martyrdom of Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī (‘a) and the Imām Ḥusayn (‘a) and jailing, torture, exile and poisonings of Infallible Imāms, all have been in respect of political struggle of Shiites against oppressions. In short, an important part of religious responsibilities is political activities and struggles”¹

He also said,

“One of the main plots which has been obvious in this century, especially in the recent decades and after the victory of the Revolution, is the widespread propaganda with different dimensions to despair the devoted nation of Iran of Islam. Sometimes, they say unskillfully and clearly that the laws of Islam which have been set for amateurishly 1400 years ago can not govern the country in the contemporary century; or that Islam is a reactionary religion and out of tune with any kind of innovation and its manifestations and our country shouldn't step aside from global civilization and its manifestations and they engage in such propaganda and occasionally insidious and devilish allegations. In order to defend the sanctity of Islam that Islam and other divine religions deal with spiritualities, purification of soul, warn against worldly desires and call for seclusion from the world and engaging in worships, and prayers which and pursuit of material goods bring man closer to the exalted God and distance him from the world. Government, politics are against that divine and great aim, because all these issues are for remedying the world and are contrary to the teachings of the prophets. Unfortunately, propagation of the latter aspect, has affected some of the clergy and virtuous people who don't know Islam, so much that they consider involvement in government and politics as a sin and debauchery. Some people may be aware of that and this is a great disaster that Islam is afflicted with.

The first group whether they are not aware of government, politics, and law or hold a grudge and pretend to be ignorant, because enforcing the laws based on justice and equality and preventing oppressors and oppressive governments and spreading individual and social justice and prohibition of

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 188.

corruption and vice and various deviations and freedom based on logic, justice, independence and self-affairs and preventing colonialism, exploitation and servitude; and laws, retribution and punishment based on justice in order to prevent corruption of society and politics and governing a society based on reason, justice and hundreds of such matters are not things to become obsolete gradually, in the history of social life of man. This claim is a kin to that of someone saying that rational and mathematical principles in the contemporary century should be changed and replaced with other principles.”¹

The relationship of religion with worldly affairs from rational viewpoint

Religion has been involved in various affairs of man’s life. Now this question is posed, that what is the role of reason and human achievement in relationship to man’s requirements should be like and what is its basis and principle.

Some people say that only by referring to Qur’an and tradition all man’s needs can be recognized and extracted by applying conclusions based on religious sources carefully.² While others say that through dialogue and discussion we should specify what we expect from religion first and then refer to it.³ Some people consider rational and practical achievements of man to be equal to revelation and believe that obeying and applying it, is necessary.⁴ Others like Imām Khomeinī say: “The main source of religion is Qur’an and the tradition but, the guidance of human reason and science can be used by man, provided that is according to religious scholar’s idea. In other words, as most of the jurisprudents believe that the jurist lays down the law rather than approves it, so his not being strict with respect to these issues amounts to approving the rational method. This principle is used for social and political affairs as well as the required laws. Hence, regarding this matter the Imām says,

“The laws which the country will need with the passage of time, there are those that are not incompatible with religious law and are involved in the society’s order and development. The Islamic government can specify such laws through religious experts and to check it against Islamic law and then legislate it, for example, to protect the country or cities, if some regulations

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 21, p. 404.

² Perspective of the Islamic academy because it is known.

³ ‘Abdul-Karīm Sorūsh, *Extending and Limiting the Theorem of Religious Law*, p. 390.

⁴ The view of Āyatullāh Jawādī Āmolī.

and laws are needed which religious expert recognize are not incompatible with Islamic laws, then it can be legislated and enforced, as in verse 62 of the *sūrah al-Anfāl* which has been revealed about an Islamic system, that, "You must fight against the enemy by all means at your disposed and in an appropriate way. This statement the way as absurd words is closed, because, if the laws of registration, banking and the like are against Islam, then they're not laws; and if they are in line with and involved in the system or the development of the country the government put them into practice according to the interest of the country although they haven't been mentioned in the laws of Islam. For example, at the beginning of Islam, there was no need for banking, registering properties; census etc, due to the small size of the Islamic country, and the organization of the army at that time was different from now. They did not have the Ministry of Post, Telephone and Telecommunication or it wasn't developed as it is now. However, the laws of Islam basically, haven't forbidden it. Now, religious experts who are theologians of Islam, must determine that these organizations that re not opposed to Islamic laws and which the country needs are allowed to be established and the laws of Islam is not opposed at all with such progress and the Islamic laws are not opposed with any of the political and social progresses."¹

In another case, he talks of Islamizing the universities, to dispel this illusion that Islamizing the universities means denying expertise, he states

"Whereas the verses of Qur'an have recommended science and knowledge so much that the same cannot be found in other books. Islam is all for science, specialization, and perfection, but it should be a kind of science and expertise that is in the best interest of the nation; in the best interest of Muslims... Islam is pro-specialization. Islam is at the top of religions venerating science and expertise and in calling people to engage in them; to the extent that it has called on people to seek knowledge everywhere, even from the faithless are in the interest and place but this knowledge at the service of Islam and country."²

From these words it is concluded that provided that human achievements are attained through science and intellect and aren't against religious sources and divine laws and would be to the benefit of the nation and country it is logical that we benefit from them. Therefore, from Imām Khomeinī's view

¹ *Kashaf al-Asrār*, p. 295; *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Nūr*, vol. 8, p. 13.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, pp. 357, 360.

point, religion is not only Qur'an and the tradition; rather, the mind too is considered to be a religious source.

4) The perfection and comprehensiveness of religion and its scope

One of the principles of the scope of the involvement of religion in the various domains is believing in the comprehensiveness and perfection of religion. It means, since Islam is comprehensive and perfect, it must get involved in all aspects of man's life. Regarding whether religion is comprehensive or perfect and whether there is difference between comprehensiveness and perfection of religion or not, and supposing that the religion is perfect, what does its perfection depend on, does it depend on saying the most or the least, speaking of the values or the knowledge and the methods too and issues of this kind. Various view points have been presented.

Some thinkers have differentiated between the comprehensiveness and perfection of religion. They have accepted the perfection of religion and have denied its comprehensiveness and believe that the perfection of religion lies in mentioning its objective and that too mentioning the least. They do not consider religion as a supermarket in which every thing can be found. "There is difference between perfection and comprehensiveness. Comprehensive means that it encompasses every things, it has rule and order for all aspects of man's life, as if religion is a supermarket in which every thing needed could be found. However, the perfection of religion or a doctrine means, that that religion or doctrine in the objective or the area which it has chosen for its function and mission, is perfect, that means it is successful.

We define the perfection of religion in relationship to God's purpose of revealing them. It is perfect for the purpose it has come for (and that too is minimum guidance); but, it is not perfect in respect of all our possible and imaginable expectations. Thus, if we accept that religion provides the minimum requirement, the perfection of religion means that it is perfect in providing the minimum requirement. There is no contradiction between the theory of minimum provision and perfection. If the purpose and mission of religion is to provide minimum (In the area of rules, moralities, world view, religion culture, and guidance in general) then a religion which has provided "what are the least" has acted perfectly and there is deficiency lack in it."¹ Yet in another case, he considers the perfection of religion as the perfection

¹ 'Abdul-Karīm Sorūsh, spreading the prophet's experience, p. 107-108; caution and management, p. 7-356; beyond ideology, p. 372.

of prophet himself and writes that "a prerequisite" for enhancing the perfection of religion lies in perfection of the prophet himself which is the sum total of his personal and social experiences. Today, in the absence of the prophet, the internal and external experiences of prophets should be extended so as to enrich religion."¹ "The verse that says "*I have completed your religion*" indicates the minimal perfection, not the optimal, meaning that the minimum necessary for guidance has been provided for people. However, the maximum possible will come into being during the gradual perfection and historical expansion of Islam."²

In relation to this statement, Shahīd Muṭahharī says: "Islam is a comprehensive and multilateral and realistic doctrine which has considered all aspects of man's needs, including worldly or afterworldly, physical or spiritual, rational and intellectual or emotional, and individual or social."³ In explaining the meaning of comprehensiveness and what it should be like, he states,

"Consider this point that some people suppose that since Islam is a comprehensive religion, it should have clarified a specific duties in the details too. No, it's not so ... the comprehensiveness of Islam basically demands that it doesn't have decrees in many of the affairs."⁴ The relationship of revelation with reason is that, it assists reason and when man's reason is not able to understand some cases, it teaches him. The prophets have not come to take the place of reason and to stop man's power to reason and to leave the rest to reason."⁵

Imām Khomeinī believes that religion is perfect and comprehensive, hence it's both applicable during all times and encompasses all of man's needs. "The nature and quality of the laws indicate that they have been designed to form a government and for political, economic and cultural administration. The religious tenets include various laws which forms a general social system. All of man's needs have been provided for in this legal system; the way of socializing with neighbors, children, tribe, relatives, fellow citizens, private affairs, married life, the rules of war and peace, the social interaction with other nations, the penal laws, the laws of trade, industry and agriculture, It has rules for pre-marital courtship and

¹ 'Abdulkarīm Sorūsh, *Spreading the Prophet's Experience*, p. 24-25.

² *Ibid.*

³ Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *An Introduction to an Islamic Worldview*, p. 53.

⁴ Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *The Necessities of Time*, p. 374, 368, 362.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 368.

fertilization of sperm it specifies the duties of parents during the period of infancy, and the way of rearing the child and the behavior of man and woman toward each other and with the children; it has system and laws for all these stages in order to train man; to rear a perfect and virtuous man; a man who is in an epitome and manifestation of laws and a voluntary enforces of the law. It's obvious to what extent Islam endeavors to improve the government and the political and economic relationship of the society in order to provide all conditions necessary for training the refined and virtuous man. The Qur'an and the traditions include all the orders and commandments needed for man's happiness and perfection. There is a chapter in "*Kāfi*" entitled, "All people's needs have been specified in Qur'an and tradition"¹ and Qur'an is the revelation of all things and affairs of the people. The Imām swears—according to the narrations—that whatever a nation needs, there is no doubt, that it can be found in Qur'an and the traditions."²

Some commentators have written about the meaning of this verse³

"Every thing has been illuminated in Qur'an but, regarding this point that Qur'an is a book of training and rearing human beings which has been sent down for the development of the individual and society in all material and spiritual aspects, it becomes obvious that by everything, they mean all those affairs necessary for traversing this path and not that Qur'an is a big encyclopedia including all details of mathematics, geography, chemistry, physics, physiology, sciences and etc. However, Qur'an has issued a local summon learning all the sciences and knowledge which includes all the mentioned knowledge etc ... in this summon. In addition, at times in relation to monotheistic and educative discussions, it has opened the curtain and exposed some sensitive aspects of science and knowledge. Anyway, what Qur'an has been sent down for and its main purpose is the issue of training humans and has not neglected anything in this regard."⁴

'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī interprets this verse as follows "This verse describes, the outstanding characteristics of glorious Qur'an and says: "Qur'an defines the divine religious laws and includes the stories and stances of everything. However, by everything it means all those affairs referring to

¹ *Uṣūl Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 76.

² *Wilāyat Faqīh*, p. 21.

³ *Sūrah Nahl*, 16: 89.

⁴ Nāṣir Makārim Shīrāzī, *A Model of Exegesis*, vol. 11, p. 261-262.

the guidance issue and the real teachings related to the origin, resurrection, and moralities that people need to be guided with.”¹

However, another writer distinguishes between comprehensiveness and perfection and accepts the perfection of religion but doubts its comprehensiveness and says, “The perfection of religion lies in stating the minimum necessary, but we should pay attention that, firstly: the least and the most are relative and ambiguous issues and in the writer’s words, are flexible to expansion and contraction. Hence, one may consider it as the minimum and the other one may regard it as the maximum. Secondly, if by the minimum is meant that religion doesn’t get involved in the routine details of man’s life in particular, rather, it specifies the limit of man’s activities, then it’s a true statement. As it was indicated in Martyr Muṭahharī’s words, whereas if it means that religion has only mentioned the values not the knowledge and the methods, then one should distinguish between the cases. In some legal instances, it has specified both the value and the methods as in prayers and some family issues etc. and if it means that in general, religion has mentioned the minimum, it’s not acceptable. This is because in the domain of beliefs and morality it has stated whatever is necessary. While it must tell the minimum on legal and theological and political issues due to their ability to change in time and place and demand so as to pave the way for conclusion and decrees based on religious sources and reasoning. As the Imām said: “It is on us to lay down the principles and it is on you to ramify them.”² They mention the main principles, and the secondary principles must be extracted. Furthermore, it is mentioned in the narrative that the limit of all that people need is mentioned in Qur’an and tradition.”³

It has been written in *Nahj al-Balāghah* as well that ‘God has sent down religion perfectly and doesn’t need anyone’s assistance for its completion.’⁴ With regard to these points, no one can claim that religion has mentioned the minimum.

5) The reason of those who are against the involvement of religion in man’s worldly issues

Secularism claims that religion is separate from man’s worldly issues and governing these issues, including political, social and economic ones, has

¹ Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā’ī, the scale (*al-Mīzān*), vol. 12, p. 325.

² *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 2, p. 245.

³ *Uṣūl Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 59.

⁴ *Nahaj al-Balāghah*, sermon 18.

been left to man himself to improve by reason and science. This viewpoint explains some reasons for its claim they are:

1- The lack of adaptability of fixed religion with changing conditions. One of the main criticisms of the opponents of the involvement of the religion in worldly issues is that a fixed religion can not answer to changing needs of man. Man is always evolving and his relation with the environment surrounding him, changes and in different positions new relationships come into being in society which demand new relations. In other words, social relationships, have changing, flexible and fluid characteristics. The level and kind of economic and social relations of human evolve in the course of history. The secret of this evolution should be looked into in the scientific, technological and enhancement of man's experiences in the domains of social life, while religion is a fixed and everlasting issue whose content is inconsistent with change and evolution. Therefore, the fixed religion is not adaptable with changing issues; hence, religion has not come to get involved in worldly issues.

The answer to this problem that how fixed religion can adapt itself with changing condition has been set forth from the past and various answers have been presented on how this adaptation should be like. Iqbāl Lāhūrī puts it in the book "The Revival of Religious Thought" and 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī in various cases, especially in the book "Islam and the needs of the Time", and martyr Muṭahharī in the book "Islam and the demands of Time" and the book "The finality of prophetic mission." Recently the writer of "The theory of Expansion and Contraction of Islamic Tenets" claims he has proposed this theory in response to the question how religion adapts itself to changing condition.

The answers are based on; firstly, social changes are not always basic and fundamental, to make a general difference; rather, some changes occur in the form and frame such that these changes creates new forms and moulds for presentation social issues. For instance, there were deals in the past and they still exist but the form of the contracts and the economic relationships may change. Hence, the nature of legal relationships such as buying and selling and renting hasn't undergone any change in the past and present. Although many of the social changes lead to formation of relationships that in terms of nature, shape and mould are different from those in the past which in the language of theologians are interpreted as narrational issues, furthermore, religion is not such as not to accept any change but, due to

flexibility, the practice of deducing new rules based on religious sources and enjoying rich and extensive resources, it can give a fixed reply to fixed issues and give appropriate answers to new and old issues.

Imām Khomeinī in response to this problem says,

“There are two kinds of values in the world. One is the spiritual values, such as the value of monotheism and *Jihād* related to divinity, social justice, the rule of justice and fair behavior of government toward nations, and spreading social justice among the nations and so forth which have existed since the beginning of Islam or before it from the true when prophets were sent, and are not changeable. Justice is not amenable to change; it cannot be correct once and be incorrect on another occasions.

The other kind of affair is ordinary affairs, which change according to the demands of time. These had a certain form during previous times and then they advanced to the level they have now, and they will go even higher after this. The criterion of government and the things related to society and politics, are spiritual values. Twice at the beginning of Islam during two eras, the authentic Islamic government was established: Once, during the era of prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him, and the other when Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī Bin Abī Ṭālib was governing in Kūfah. It was during these two eras when spiritual values were predominant, those meanings, the government of justice was established and the governor was not violating the law at all. The sovereignty during these two times was the rule of law; the rule in which all would be equal before the law as compared to the lowest person living there.”¹

Therefore, not all the needs of man are fixed nor do social conditions and religious laws change in respect of the substance. The substance is unchangeable, rather, some laws due to the change of subject, undergo some changes.

In other words, jurists in order to solve problems in new issues apply some elements to make religion match with what the demands of time. These elements are:

1. Keeping open the door to jurisprudence. A religious jurist (*Mujtahid*) can in order to find decrees on new issues refer to religious sources and with the aid of principles and fundamentals provide appropriate answers for new needs.

2. With regard to the effects of elements of time and place in jurisprudence, decrees appropriate with social conditions are extracted,

¹ *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 11, pp. 1-2.

because the subject of rule may change due to the changing of conditions and as the decree follows the subject the decrees change as well such that jurists in the past did on the discussion of "question of improbability".

3. The sources of jurisprudence are conventional and rational principles. If we concede that the rational principle even if they weren't drafted by Infallible Imāms, they would be endorsed by legislators and could be used to adapt religion to new issues- as we quoted from the Imām before- by emerging issues and new needs, they can be applied provided that they would not be against religion laws.

4. The presence of religious jurist and religious judge at the top of the system can issue administrative decrees appropriate with the social conditions and this issue is also a factor of compatibility of religious law with the needs of time.

2- Lack of religion's ability in practical perception

Man needs practical knowledge in his individual and social life; it means that he needs criteria and rules that specify his duty in every event and practice. Man can decide what to do on different occasions by knowing these rules and criteria. Therefore, practical perception is a part and de facto recognition of good and evil, and norm of actions of good and bad behavior whether these actions and behaviors lie in the area of personal and individual practice or in the area of macro social decisions, and actions. Anyway, until man doesn't know the criterion of value and specific and de facto rule for each case, he won't take any action. Although the moral and legal issues have been set forth in the religious texts which determine the norms, but they inform man of a what is necessary whereas they can not provide man with the practical and final verdict of the actions.

Religion in its religious teachings and ethics firstly explains necessary generalities and specifies practical duty of the individual. Secondly the meanings included in them don't have a specified limit and definition.¹

The answer of the problem

The moral and religious laws and recommendations for recognizing the practical and secondary individual and social duties is not sufficient. However, we must determine whether this issue causes as the decline in the

¹ 'Ādil Zāhir, *Secular Philosophical Bases*, 177-178.

place and role of religion in the individual and social life or not. In response it must be said that:

Firstly, it is not logical to expect religion to provide us with practical wisdom and decree in every individual and social instance. Secondly, other moral and legal system have the same problem (weak) and it's not limited to religion, because all legal and ethical systems consist of general principles and laws which organize and guide the life of man. Man must check those general principles against secondary cases through thinking and reasoning and discover the secondary decrees of the event and apply it. Hence, there are lots of practical solutions to recognizing what is amiss, what is more important; what takes precedence in relation to interests and what is necessary in the religion texts and practical behavior of religious leaders. By applying those decrees and principles the secondary cases can be identified and we can act with reference to them. Imām Khomeinī after explaining the general principles of the laws of Islam in the social, economic and political spheres has stated that,

"These principles are the laws of the country and there are adequate secondary laws in Islam. By studying them, it becomes obvious that one of the public laws legislated in Islam are the laws which in consideration of the masses, have put a principal on the other divine laws such as, the laws of chaos loss, emergency, coercion and so forth. The laws oversee the other laws which Islam has legislated sufficiently in consideration of the demands of time, place and individuals. Thus, if for some countries or some people, the demands bring about something which results in amendments in the primary laws and the criticism of these foolish people to be fully eliminated."¹

3- The involvement of religion in worldly affairs

Some secular thinkers believe that the involvement of religion in worldly affairs, political and social spheres will erode the authenticity of religion or will bring down its downfall. In other words, it will lead to the extinction of the fundamental of religion. It means, if religion gets involved in social spheres, its individual aspect and spiritual values will be damaged. As Mahdī Bāzargān says,

"If the purpose of sending prophets is the happiness of human life and governing the world in an appropriate way or a long with the afterlife it will result in losses and afflictions which eventually will lead to loss both in this

¹ Imām Khomeinī, *Kashaf al-Asrār*, pp. 305-315.

world and the hereafter. They include: 1- Turning monotheism into polytheism; 2- Quitting religion and lack of hope and belief due to incapability of religion and religious law in responding to innumerable and new emerging scientific and human issues and the solution of constantly increasing individual and social problems; 3- Domination religion and government by religious leaders; 4- The stuff of Satan or religion of God, meaning that an Islam which advances with the support of power and coercion, and is the stuff of Satan rather than the religion of God; 5- To quit religion for the sake of material world or to quit the material world for the sake of religion are two cases of immoderation in religion. Those who devote themselves to religion and prayer theoretically or practically to govern the world appropriately and to improve their own life and that of others and ignore the afterlife and themselves and they accept religion for the sake of this world and their mind is preoccupied with the worldly life is an interpretation of the verse "The losers of deeds"; 6- Prophets announce resurrection and afterlife. To believe that prophets of God merely announce resurrection and afterlife and introduce the One Creator and the world as the farmland for cultivation of the afterlife and field of activity and training of man for eternal life is ... for the survival of religion and the world and sustaining human beings in a world filled with pain and suffering. Whereas, if their purpose is the world and its material affairs it is bound to lead to the erosion of religion; 7- The harm I the way of thinking that the religion is for the world in manner that results in believers not to perform their duties and concerning their own problems and difficulties an that of human society in the hope that religion has the guidelines and answers to these duties and not to endeavor and strive beyond the commandments of religion; rather, it is sufficient to exercise the limits and duties diligently so that their worldly life and afterlife is secured as that attainment of knowledge and research on problems and laws of nature and creation."¹

We postpone criticizing and answering these words, in detail, to another time, but in brief we can say that "governing the worldly affairs of human is considered as voluntary act and every voluntary action has an objective which man performs by the rule of reason to achieve that objective. In other words rational governing is directed toward an objective which man pursues based on certain criteria and values.

Man needs two types of recognition in rational and ethical considerations: 1- Recognition of values, norms and required human criteria;

¹ Mahdī Bāzargān, *Ibid*, p. 91-102.

2- The recognition of the path to obtain these values and objectives and recognizing the relationship between the means and ends and objectives.

God makes us aware of both the ends as well as informs us of values and norms and laws to govern the world according to this knowledge of the relationship between the actions and ends objective in order to improve our world which is the prelude to the afterlife in such a way that our afterlife would be reform on that basis, firstly as the writer says, concentrating on the world within the umbrella of divine teachings is competition to God and afterlife so that it results in polytheism.

Secondly, where the interest of a system is concerned, the personal interests are not considered to discuss preference of this world to afterlife; however, what matters is the interest of Islamic society and people or Islamic criteria which under the important interests are preferred to important ones and not that the world be preferred to afterlife.

Thirdly: if the governmental system is not perfect, it may despair people but doesn't lead to this belief that the principles of government should be put aside; rather, we should reform its corruption. Thus, social deviations and corruptions have been predicted and a scheme has been considered to resist them; issues like faith and piety, public supervision, admonishing fellow believers to do right and avoid sin and the supervision of the enlightened of the society, so that if attainment is paid to them, it will prevent their deviation and corruption.

Fourthly: Islam by taken into consideration all aspects of the life of man tells Muslims that focusing on the world and afterlife should be in such a way that none of them harm the other and man himself should move towards progress and sublimity with the held of knowledge planning and efforts and hard work.

4- The involvement of religion in the worldly spheres and the history of religion

Some Muslim thinkers have stated that: although the prophet of Islam involved in politics and established a government in his time and shaped a relationship between Islam and politics, but it should be noted that this relationship is historical. It means that Islam inherently doesn't encompass any kind of government and politics but, it was only due to a certain historical circumstances that Prophet Muḥammad was forced to establish a theocracy and these conditions were related to when Islam was established and its purpose was to spread religion, and not that involvement in political

and governmental affairs be hidden in the nature of religion. He defines his idea by these preliminaries:

a) Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) firstly and inherently was a prophet and called upon man to spiritual movements towards God but, a prophet who performed his mission in the framework of certain social, economic, culture and political events. This fact made him address both reason and mind, and social and political realities. Hence, he spoke of monotheism in the sphere of reason and mind and of justice in the sphere of societies. The monotheism, prophet Islam called people to was compatible with mind of people at that time and in comparison to polytheism of the era of ignorance, it was considered as turning away from ignorance and towards reason in the same way that his call to justice was also logical. The justice and reason of monotheism and justice were important issues.

b) Although, dividing religious spheres of Islam into three areas of worship, trade, and politics is related to jurisprudence but its principle is rooted in Qur'an and tradition and the science of jurisprudence is an extension of that same area and spheres.

c) The sphere related to worship such as prayer and fast, alms giving, *Hajj*, and agreements like trade, marriage, divorce and reef of policies and agreements such as punishment for stealing, blood money and the limits and decrees of punishment were not secrets in the era of Prophet Muḥammad.

d) The science of religious law has done (rational) science during the history of the religion of Islam which secures certain objective and moves on a rational route.

e) The science of religious law was spread through checking the practices of adults and events based on the Qur'an and tradition by jurisprudents and they would determine a verdict for them based on the pentagonal commandments.

f) The main frame of fatwa and religious law theories in respect of worship and transactions are still in a rational context and there is no rational and intellectual reason to put the main frame of worship and transactions aside in the present century.

g) It seems that the wise route of the religious law movement has been corrupted in the cases and most of fatwa and religious laws theories doesn't have a rational justification in the domain of politics in this century and leads to improve religious and rational prudent of Muslims. He explains his idea further and writes that religious law is checking the existing social and political realities of Muslims against Qur'an and Tradition and obtaining its

religious decrees and the facts of the present century is revealed in the questions set forth for the Islamic society in this century and fatwa related to some laws like retribution and cutting off the hands of thieves are not the answers to the questions of this century and do not meet our rational objectives.

We can find clear evidences and signs in Qur'an and tradition which proves that topics related to politics have been related to culture and social and political realities of the age of revelation and they intended to organize those facts fairly and morally. For instance, the evidences indicate that the purpose of the laws of retribution, and fines was to control the vendetta among Arabs fairly and morally at that time and they were not legislated by the central government to prevent crimes and the like. Therefore, most of the texts about politics in Qur'an and tradition are not answering the questions concerning penal law or government and so forth that we have; hence attributing them to the laws in force in the present century is invalid.

h) The meaning of historic interpretation of religious texts in respect of politics is that these texts indicate a general orientation in the practices and performances of the prophet of Islam, which is his calling for justice and grace. Thus, these texts do not indicate specific and obvious laws.

i) The eternal divine law in these cases includes value principles arising from the rightfulness of monotheistic behavior, which the laws should be in agreement with it and not the laws themselves that are not changeable.¹

Criticism and evaluation

It is necessary to pay attention to several points in order to criticize and evaluate the words of this writer

1) The Prophet of Islam established a government and one of the first things he did was to unite Muslims. So that they share in their destinies and have a common destiny in war and peace. He chose Medina as the center of government and appointed governors for other areas. After establishing the government he enforced the penal laws of Islam for the offenders, upheld divine canons and punished criminals, declared war on enemies, and sometimes signed treaty of non-aggression with other peace-loving people.

2) The structure of his government and involvement in the worldly affairs was appropriate with the social conditions of that time and it had a simple administrative and social system.

3) The point worth thinking about is that whether establishing a government by Prophet Muḥammad was a historical event and was not

¹ Muḥammad Mujtahid Shabestari, *"Spiritual Bedrock and the Rationalists of Jurisprudence"* *Kiyān*, issue No. 46.

rooted in Islamic teachings or that this call was rooted in Islamic teachings and had a religious aspect.

Lots of religious signs can be found by referring to religious texts which proves that the government of Prophet Muḥammad was religious and it was not rooted in religious teachings. The evidences are:

a- Islam consists of laws and duties which without establishment of theocracy cannot be adapted to various aspects of society such as panel law of Islam, the payment of taxes by Muslims such as taking one-fifth of Muslims' money as *zakāt* and distributing them; upholding justice, engaging in *Jihād* against oppressors and the likes.

b- The verses of Qur'an mention the political leadership of Prophet Muḥammad and ask people to obey his commands. For instance: as in the verse "*The prophet can take care of believers better than themselves*"¹ and the verse "*Take what the prophet has condoned and shun what he has forbidden*"² and the verse "*Verily, we have revealed the Book so that you can govern the people.*"³ These verses indicate that prophet Muḥammad should govern people, and his administration encompasses all entire affairs of the life of Muslims and the historical evidence proves that he has performed those tasks. He declared war and peace; he enforced the penal laws of Islam and involved in the entire affairs of people.

4) As God said: "*Verily, the prophet is a good example for those who wish to get close to God and the afterlife*"⁴ Prophet Muḥammad is a role model for Muslims at all times and, it's not limited to moral and worship issues on the basis of this verse; rather, it includes all the issues prophet Muḥammad was involved in, so that, Muslims should consider him a role model in any age and intervene in worldly affairs.

5) The religion of Islam and its laws are eternal; it is the last religion and it is universal. Thus, based on this fact all aspects of that religion should be everlasting and eternal as well.

6) This writer considers the religious teachings sufficient in respect of worship issues and transactions within the frame of religious law and has evaluated its movement in the rational and intellectual ground positively. His problem lies in the area of politics which may be rooted in this fact that as Islam hasn't involved in the political, social, and governmental spheres so

¹ *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*, 33: 6.

² *Sūrah al-Ḥashr*, 59: 7.

³ *Sūrah Nisā'*, 4: 15.

⁴ *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*, 33: 21.

far, while in his words, the appropriate political questions of this century hasn't been asked of jurists because it was not necessary, thus it hasn't developed in the rational and intellectual fields as it deserves. However, if those some questions are put forward and the theologian and jurists worked on jurisprudence, they would be able to present logical decrees for the contemporary era. Thus, Imām Khomeinī, in order to be able to place jurisprudence in harmony with the contemporary era, in the field of rationality proposed that:

First, he considers religious law as the perfect theory of human life and regards government as its practical philosophy; and secondly, he regards the elements of time and place as 'two determinant elements in jurisprudence and as the basis of religious law. Thirdly, based on his specific understanding of theology, anthropology, the science of jurisprudence, he has come up with a certain kind of philosophy and has talked of mixing religion with politics. Fourthly: he focuses on the interest of the system, society and people in the context of Islamic criteria as a necessary principle. Hence, Islam presents not only the values but also all the necessary and useful methods for governing the society, because as we explained before values, objectives and ends need appropriate methods. Thus, we cannot say that religion has mentioned the values and ignored the appropriate methods for those values.

Conclusion

We conclude from the conclusion of this article that Imām, based on his own principles on the reason of man's need for religion and the objective of prophet's mission and comprehensiveness of religion and its sources, believes that; firstly; religion, is not only involved in the individual and spiritual issues, rather it is also involved in the all social, political, economic, and scientific spheres. Secondly, this involvement is realized by stating the principles and generalities of values and methods and by presenting a specific mechanism for jurisprudence in order to extract the needs of man in any are. The involvement in scientific element is realized by encouraging man to learn the necessary and useful sciences and by respecting all human sciences. Thirdly; religion has provided man with all the necessary and useful methods so that human society can be governed and yet it has not rational thinking of the society; rather, the rational thinking should be such as not to be contrary to religious principles and criteria.

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Union of Religion and Politics from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint

Muhammad-Taqī Subhānī-Niyā

Without doubt an important and main issue in the area of political thought, in Imām Khomeinī's view is the subject of the union of religion and politics. The idea of the separation of religion from politics that had found a footing among Muslim was met with intense opposition by Imām Khomeinī.

Imām Khomeinī as a patron of the union of religion and politics as well as the great reviver of religious thinking by propounding the theory of governance of a religious jurispudent (*Wilāyat-e Faqīh*) and by introducing a religious government and an Islamic Republic as a literal manifestation of the bond between politics and religion exposed the evil imperialist conspiracies. With a dear, eloquent and categorical statement, he introduced the Muḥammadan Islam; the universality and eternal appeal of Islam; the political dimensions of Islam and its meeting the basic needs of society.

In this article, we will study the brief discussion regarding the separation of religion from politics, the factors for its existence, the Imām's role in changing this incorrect concept and the revival of the idea of union of religion and politics. Furthermore, we will study these above mentioned subjects in six parts: 1- The meaning of religion and politics; 2- The past record of discussions of the separation of religion and politics; 3- The contributing factors for the foundation of the separation theory; 4- The cause

for the separation theory; 5- Critical analysis of the thought and theory of separation; 6- Imām Khomeinī's views on this issue.

1) The meaning of religion and politics

Before we discuss the union of religion and politics, first religion and politics must be defined to make it clear if a relationship and conformity between these two are possible or not.

Both the West and Islam hold different views on religion and politics. It is evident that arbitration on the issue of the union of religion and politics will also be a different. Wilson states:

“As long as we know religion to be the essence of beliefs, actions, activities, compositions, and structures, and is related to supernatural issues or metaphysical (this is the same meaning that we have accepted in this article) the evaluation of the amount of deficiency or the decline of the importance of religion in the functioning of society will be possible. However, some sociologists have defined religion based on function. In other words, a body of beliefs, thoughts, and activities that have a specific function in society.”¹

The late ‘Allāmah Ja‘farī said:

“Today religion in the West consist of a personal spiritual relationship between man and God and other are supernatural truths that have the least role in mankind's material life. Politics in the West consist of justification and management of mans natural life in society towards goals that apparently are mostly chosen for themselves.”²

It can be stated that: What westerners commonly conceive to be religion is not an institution of belief and knowledge, rather it is a subject composed of ones personal tact, taste, and feelings. With the West's view of religion and politics, one must expect the separation of religion from the material world and the separation of religion from politics on their part.

Religion according to this definition is never associated with mans life and the material world aspects; rather, it is only for building the path to the next world; in other words, religion in this context is an agenda for the afterlife and is not for the life of this world.

¹ Mirja Alyada, culture and religion, an article on the separation of religion from the world, translated by Dr. Asadī (first edition: Tehran, *Tarh-e Now*), p. 126.

² *Ghabasat Magazine*, No, 1, p. 65.

In Islam's view, religion is made up of a body of beliefs and thoughts arising from Divine Revelation in relation to the world, man and the afterlife, with its goal being the guidance of man towards the best and perfect way to live. The late 'Allāmah Ja'farī stated:

"Every reality and phenomena for regulating and reforming man's life with regard to the four points (the relation of man with himself, the relation of man with God, the relation of man with the world, the relation of man with his own type) that are operational are regarded as part of religion according to Islam."¹

The literal meaning of politics as defined by religion is "a measure to put something in order by means of an affair that reforms it and organizes it."² It has arisen from the core of religion whereas politics implies deceit and chicanery which is an incorrect meaning and is opposed with the essence of spirit of religion and teachings of Islam. The enemies of Islam by insisting on this incorrect definition of politics encourage religious people to distance themselves from politics.

On this matter, Imām Khomeinī states:

"Āyatullāh Kāshānī was imprisoned in Ghal'ah Falak al-Aflāk prison. The head of the prison while talking to Mr. Kāshānī had said: "Why do you intervene in politics? Politics is not in your dignity!"

Mr. Kāshānī replied: "If I do not intervene in politics, then who will?"³ The Imām continues,

"I was taken to the head of the security organization. In his conversation, he told me: "Sir, politics is lying, deceit, fraud, and Knavery. Leave this to us." I replied: "This type of politics does belong to you! Of course, this type of politics has nothing to do with Islamic politics. This is the devils politics, but politics in the meaning that it guides society to where it reforms the society and reforms the individuals has been stated in the Prophets traditions with the use of the word "politics"... It also appears in narratives that the Holy Prophet was sent to guide the *ummahs*' politics."⁴

¹ *Ibid.* p. 66.

² *Majāma' Albahāreīn*, vol., 4, p. 78.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 430.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 431.

2) The Antecedent to the Discussion of the Separation of Religion and Politics

The belief of the separation of religion from politics in the Christian world has a root in Greek culture. Thus, with the fall of the Churches leadership, its incapability in intervening in life's aspects and politics and its limitation in meeting spiritual, moral and development affairs, and the proliferation of western doctrines of religion such as secularism and liberalism the lack of intervention Islamic in the arena of society and politics become stronger.

After enlightened Islamic thinkers became acquainted with the mentioned theories and schools of thought the grounds for its entry into Islam was laid and the Western world also by specific methods entered the arena. In Islamic history, this theory was first expressed by the Ummayyads dynasty. Imām Khomeinī in regard to this stated:

"The issue of the separation of Islam from politics is not something new for religious scholars. This issue was mentioned during the Ummayyad era and strengthened during Abbasid era. Now, in recent times, with the intervention of forgiveness in Islamic lands, they have accentuated this problem."¹

After peace in year 40 Mu'āwiyah in a speech stated:

"I did not fight with you so that you would pray or fast or perform the holy pilgrimage or pay *zakāt*. You already do these acts. I fought with you so that I could rule over you and I reached my goal."²

'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī states:

"Mu'āwiyah with his speech showed that he would separate politics from religion and religious laws would have no guarantee and that he would use all his power to sustain his rule."³

In contrast to what some believe that: "This classification that Islam is both religion and government is an accidental classification which

¹ *Ibid.* vol. 16, p. 418.

² History of Ṭabarī, vol. 4, p. 124.

³ 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Shī'ism in Islam*, p. 21.

recently came into being and did not exist in the past.”¹ John Jacque Rousseau states:

“The holy religion of (Christianity) has always remained separate from its relationship with government is not a forced one. Ḥaḍrat Muḥammad held correct views on this matter. He managed his political office well and until his form of government was present among the Caliphates, it was a religious and political government. A religious and traditional government that was both religious and worldly was the same and the same state was also governed; however, as the Arabs became rich, they became weak and other tribes and clans overcame and dominated them. It was then dispute between the two powers restarted.”²

It is well known that the first scientific opinion of meaning of materialism and especially the materialization of politics was first put forward in the Sunni world by ‘Alī ‘Abd ‘Alī-Rāziqī in the critical period of the ‘Uthmān reign. Some of his theories will be studied in the next chapters. The idea of the separation of religion from politics came with western influence Iran by westernized and Europeanized agents and the Freemason Organization.

A historian had stated:

“The Freemason Organizations goal is in Iran to implement Islam minus spirituality and to separate religion from politics and to learn from the struggle between French (Liberalist with the church and the reformation system (that resulted in the French Revolution)).

Thus, some of the Freemason traitors such as Colonel Akhoundov and Āghā Khān Kermānī who were deeply influenced by western culture restore to intense propaganda and rumor-mongering against God, Islam, the Holy Qur’an, the mosque, and the clergy.

Colonel Akhoundov about his secret plot wrote that;

“The era of darkness of the clergy be ended and the reformation of religion through Islamic Protestantism be realized. Politics and religion be totally separated from one another and religion should have no place in worldly affairs.”³

¹ Magazine of *the Islamic Government*, third year, No. 4, p. 33.

² John Jack Rouse, *the Social Contract*, translated by Ghulām-Muḥsin Zirakzādeh, p. 195.

³ Sayyid Ḥmīd Ruḥānī, *The Uprising of Imām Khomeinī* (first edition: Tehran, Islamic Revolution Documentary center), p. 13.

The first signs of the separation of religion from politics in Iran must be sought from the wars between Iran and Russia. The Qājār administrators in justifying their defeat from the Russian empire blamed it on the intervention of the clergy in war and politics. This opinion became stronger during Riḍā Khān's reign so that during Pahlavī II reign, religion and the government became more distanced from one another.

3) The factor for the founding the separation theory

The separation of religion and politics, like every other phenomenon, is a result of social and intellectual factors. With regard to Imām Khomeinī words, this idea is rooted in the following affairs:

A) Imperialist propaganda

Imām Khomeinī states: "The slogan that politics is separate from religion comes from imperialist propaganda intent on preventing Muslim nations from playing a role in their fate."¹

B) Muslim's low self-esteem

The Imām states:

"Some people just sit around in theological schools and tell each other that we cannot do these things; these affairs are not related to us. We must only pray and answer religious questions. These are a consequence of foreign inspiration. The results of years of imperialist negative propaganda that have penetrated the theological schools of Najaf, Qum, Mashhad, and other seminaries and resulted in depression, weakness laziness and leaves no room for development. Constantly they apologize that they cannot undertake these tasks. These beliefs are wrong. What did those who now rule Islamic countries do that they cannot? Which one of them is superior to a normal and ordinary individual?"²

In another place, he stated:

"Get rid of this depression: as much as foreigners and their agents have constantly promoted in our ears that; 'Sir, you should go to teach an study seminaries; what have you got to do with these issues; you are not capable

¹ *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol.5 p. 188.

² Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh* (eighth edition: Tehran, The The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works: p. 126.

of performing these tasks...’ we have to come to believe them that we cannot do anything. You also can manage a country, are others any different from you?”¹

A majority of losers that were influenced by foreign propaganda believe that if the Islamic world wants to progress they must distance themselves from religion and take the West as an example. A European orientalist states:

“Europe became successful only when religion separated from power and when religious leaders gave up power and returned to the church. It was then that knowledge and industry developed.”²

C) Lack of familiarity with Islam

Although some Muslim writers have mentioned the theory of separation, however, if you look carefully to their content you will find that the reason for their adopting this theory to be their lack of knowledge of Islam. Imām Khomeinī in this regards states: “I swear to God all of Islam is politics, they have misrepresented Islam.”³ Yet in another place, he writes: “*Whosoever says that politics is separate from Islam has not understood Islam and politics.*”⁴

Dwight Donalds considers the Shī‘ah religion as being devoid of a political system and views the Shiite sect as no more than a framework for crying and wailing self-flagellation, and other sentimental rituals marking the anniversaries of the martyred Imāms.⁵

Wilson writes:

“The general issue of the separation of religion and the material world is leading daily to the separation of religion from other social faculties (such as law, politics, economics and finally education) that are the basis of social life much more than in institutions that are rooted in local social life (such as marriage, family, personal morals).”⁶

Steakhouse states:

¹ *Ibid.* p. 127.

² *Hawzah Magazine*, the year 15, No. 84-85, p. 329.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 270.

⁴ Imām Khomeinī, *Taḥrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, (Qum, *Ismā‘iliyān* Publication House), p. 234

⁵ ‘Abbās-‘Alī ‘Amīd Zanjānī, *Jurisprudence of Politics*, vol. 2 (*Amīr Kabīr* Publication House, first edition) p. 190.

⁶ Mirja Alyada, *Ibid.* p. 135.

"Politics usually implies as taking possession, organizing and utilizing power in an area, land or society, especially the power of governing and decision making regarding who and how public bodies of society are managed. According to the understanding of the general public and some researchers, this power has no connection with religion. Of course, there is no doubt that from this aspect some view religion as a perfected ideology of political and economic interest; they believe a relation exists between politics and religion. However, a broader understanding of history and civilization clearly shows that politics and religion that are some how related to each other. And religion, influences politics to the same extent politics influences religion."¹

D) An incorrect definition of religious concept

A group of people due to the incorrect definition of "The Principle of Awaiting" believes that they have no duty in the face of oppression and corruption. These groups who are known as "The Hujjat Association" are supporters of non-intervention in political issues. The Imām in this regard states:

"Yet another group's theory is to allow sins to proliferate until the Awaited Savior appears. For what is His Holiness reappearing? His Holiness is coming in order to eliminate sins so should we commit sins until he appears?"²

E) The absence of an independent political thought

Even though—according to a writer—you find a special inclination towards politics with in the Muslims hearts as being a direct result of Islamic teachings³, however unfortunately, due to different reasons in Islam's history, the absence of an independent political thought can be witnessed and this matter itself results in the theory of separation gaining ground.

The writers see the following two factors as a cause for the lack of political thought: 1- A political-social factor; a majority of Muslims live under a ruling regime in which they are not free to practice Islam 2- The method of Recognition; Muslim would rarely study politics separately from other sciences and teachings. Issues such as the nature of governance, different types of government, characteristics of a ruler, the limitations of

¹ *Ibid.* p. 548.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 534.

³ Ḥamid 'Ināyat, political thought in contemporary Islam, translated by Bahā'uddīn Khoramshahr, (second edition: *Khwārazmī* Publications).

their power and citizens rights as part of general doctrine on jurisprudence and theology would be discussed and all of them pertained to Islamic laws and teachings. Due to a blow from European military, political, economical and cultural aggressions, from the end of the 18th century, onwards, Muslims have started to write separate discourses regarding particular political issues.¹

Of course, this does not mean that Islam's jurists are inattentive in this regard. Despite, the lack of an independent political thought, the jurisprudents of Islam continued to debate and discuss political issues within the various theological subjects. The first jurisprudent material of an Islamic government are seen in collections of narrations such as *Kāfī* and *Tahdhīb*. Shaykh Mufīd views religious authority in the areas of judgment, implementation of punishment, managing Muslims affairs and the establishment of a government as being originally belonging to Islam's leader and states: In the period of the Disappearance of His Holiness, the Savior, this authority was delegated by His Holiness to the Shī'ite jurists.²

After the revival of exegesis of divine law by Waḥīd Behbahānī, a change in political jurisprudence occurred and by putting forward the issue of Supreme Religious Guardianship the jurists placed the issue of political jurisprudence on the axis of this issue and discussed the issues of government independently in this subject and under this topic.

F) The unsuccessful history of the church and oppressive rulers who ruled in the name of religion

One of the reasons for the theory of the separation of religion from politics is the unsuccessful record of religious rulers who ruled in name of religion and resulted in the people's disillusionment and hopelessness in religion. An enlightened Muslim thinker who supports this theory, said:

"One thousand years of the undisputed Popes leadership and the Catholic Churches' oppressive ruler during the Middle Ages over kings, elite social classes and the people of Europe have left nothing but except ignorance, darkness, stagnation, backwardness, and the terrible suppression of free thought. Moreover, disillusionment, and running away from religion and God and the return to Greek culture also occurred along with anti-religious revival."³

¹ *Ibid.* p. 19.

² Shaykh Mufīd, *Almoghana*, p. 13.

³ *Kiyān Magazine*, No, 28, p. 59.

For years in Iran many incompetent sultans and kings ruled in the name of religion and this "Theory" was created in peoples minds that the source of backwardness was associated with Islam and religious laws, where actually their defects and shortcomings were shifted to Islam; whereas the shortcoming and failure lay in the lack of practical application of Islam.

At the end of this chapter, we point to a part of Imām Khomeinī's political will regarding the root cause of the plot for separating religion from politics:

"One of the major plots of the century, especially the last few decades, and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, which is clearly manifest, in the all-out propaganda launched, with the aim of disappointing nations especially the Iranian nation with Islam. Sometimes, with explicit but crude argument, it is claimed that the laws of 1400 years ago cannot efficiently administer the countries in the modern age. At other times, they contend that Islam is a reactionary religion that opposes any new ideas and manifestations of civilization and that, at present, no country can remain aloof from global civilization in its various aspects. Sometimes, in fiendish yet foolish propaganda jargon, they claim to support the sanctity of Islam and maintain that divine religions have the nobler task of self-purification, of inviting the people to asceticism, self-abstinence, morality and of admonish them against worldly temptations. They say that prayers bring men closer to God; that politics and government are opposed to these great moral objectives and are contrary to the traditions of the great prophets. Unfortunately, such propaganda has impressed some of the clergy and faithful Muslims who are not properly tutored in the teachings of Islam. This influence has been so marked that some simple-minded Muslims have considered involvement in government and politics as being a grave sin and evil. This is a calamity by which Islam is afflicted with."¹

4) Reasons for the theory of separation of religion from politics

Those who believe in the theory of separation of religion from politics base their beliefs on several reasons from which we mention the most important ones:

A) Reasons based on the Holy Qur'an

'Alī 'Abdul-Razzāq by relying on verses from the Holy Qur'an states, "Say: I am not placed in charge of you"² and "On you is only to deliver (the

¹ *Imām Khomeinī's Will*, article (b).

² *Sūrah al-An'ām*, 6: 66.

message)"¹ to argue that the Holy Qur'an has removed duties from the Holy Prophet's shoulders and states: "As you know the Holy Qur'an clearly states that the Holy Prophet is the peoples protector and guardian but he is not their oppressor or dominator and he has no right to force people towards Islam."²

Engineer Bāzargān also concludes from the Holy Qur'an's verses that;

"What can be concluded from it is that the body of verses and chapters of the Holy Qur'an are mainly divided into two subjects: God and the hereafter. God in the form of the acceptance and worship as well as strict abstaining from worship and following of other gods and the hereafter, in the form of accepting the Day of Judgment and living its two types' after world (heaven and hell). Moreover, less than 2% of the Holy Qur'an is allocated to religious laws and canons ... the Holy Qur'an is no more than an invitation, and is a language of the prophet mission it not only does not give guidance and commands for this world; rather, it scolds us as to why we pay too much attention to this world."³

B) Reasons based on traditions

Even though the Holy Prophet of Islam, by establishing an Islamic government demonstrated Islam in the political arena the opponents of the theory of union of religion and politics still put forth justifications for proving their theory.

'Alī 'Abdur-Razzāq accepted the general Muslim viewpoint and their correct and rational understanding of politics and states: "Perhaps, we can accept the belief that the Holy Prophet's governance was part of his mission, to be agreeable to the general Muslim taste and to regard the opinions of the Muslim scholars to be the same as well."⁴ However, he denies the Holy Prophets government and writes that the Holy Prophets leadership of his people was a spiritual one.⁵

The author of the book "*Wisdom and Government*" has yet another analysis of the Prophet's government. He says:

"These political offices were given by the people for the same reason that they were appointed to their divine mission and due to the necessities of the

¹ *Sūrah ash-Shu'arā*, 42: 48.

² 'Alī 'Abdur-Razzāq, *Islam and the Principles of Governing*, p. 171.

³ *Kiyān* magazine, *Ibid.* p. 51.

⁴ 'Alī 'Abdur-Razzāq, *Ibid.* p. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 141.

time and place, and without them seeking this position it was given to them. Thus, they can not be considered as a divine appointment.”¹

In another viewpoint, the Islamic government and the Holy Prophet's government are a result of conditions, and circumstances of the era of birth and growth of Islam.

‘Ādil Zāhir states:

“Islam established its government for a certain goal, a goal that in an essential form is related to establishing religion and to strengthen its foundations, and as the purpose has caused to exist since long ago, the need for establishing an Islamic government no longer exists.”²

Others describe the Holy Prophets government as based on pure coincidence and accident.

Dr. Naṣr Ḥāmid states: “A historical coincidence that for a short time united the spiritual leadership with political leadership under the Holy Prophet.”³ This group analyzed the Holy Prophets household politics, especially the Imām ‘Alī's government which lasted several years. Engineer Bāzargān views the Imām ‘Alī's leadership as being based on the public's opinion, in introducing His Holiness, he writes: “Because he did not regard the Caliphates position to be his right, he did not attempt to grab power.”⁴ Regarding the Imām Ḥusayn's uprising he writes:

“The Imām Ḥusayn's war and martyrdom or uprising and movement proves the fact that the Caliphate and government, from the Imāms and Islam's viewpoint does neither belong to Yazīd, nor does it belong to him or to God, rather it belongs to the Muslim nation and is their choice. The people swore allegiance and chose the Imām Ḥasan (‘a), and he was his father's successor and at the people's insistence, he was forced to make peace with Mu‘āwiyah. It is obvious that if the Imām Ḥasan (‘a) believed that the Caliphate was God's mission or a prophetic mission he would never allow himself to make peace on it.”⁵

¹ Mahdī Hā'irī, *Wisdom and Government*, p. 143.

² *Magazine of the Islamic Government*, third year, No, 4, p. 35.

³ *Ibid.* p. 36.

⁴ *Kiyān Magazine*, *Ibid.* p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*

C) The impossibility of religion being included in politics

It was said that religion consist of general commands and politics consist of specific affairs. Dignity of religion is higher than that to preoccupy itself with minute affairs of a specific era, as it is a guidance for mankind throughout history. Dr. Hā'irī writes: "Governing and managing the country's affairs, which include managing the people's daily affairs and their economic and security issues, are all branches of practiced reason and are specific and variable subjects that are always in the process of changing and fluctuation the correct recognition of the experimental subjects is responsibility the people."¹ Engineer Bāzargān states: "Implementing reform and completing material affairs at the level of people is far from God's dignity and lowers the Prophets positions (to) the level of Marx, Pasteur, and Gandhi."² In another place, he says: "It is not necessary for God and his messengers to teach the lessons of life nor solve personal problems especially since troubles, difficulties, struggles and management for the relief of small problems are part of mankind's agenda."³

'Alī 'Abdur-Razzāq says:

"The reality is that the religion of Islam is above the Caliphate that the Muslims introduce than and the aggregate of its results and elements. The Caliphate has no interest in religion nor the destiny and other issues that are the government's responsibility. These all purely political affairs that have no relation with religion. In this regard, religion has neither acceptance nor command nor prohibition. Rather it leaves it to man himself to act according to instructions of the mind, the Muslim nations' experience and laws of politics."⁴

Dr. Sorūsh says: "Religion should not have anything to do with the worldly affairs of and the rationalists will run the world. Religion has not arrived in order to advance the material life of people."⁵ In another place he says:

"Religious people love their own religion. When you give your opinion regarding something lovingly, at first: you do not see its shortcomings; secondly: you desire to have all that is good in that which you love.

¹ Mahdī Hā'irī, *Ibid.* p. 141.

² Kiyān Magazine, *Ibid.* p. 48.

³ *Ibid.* p. 49.

⁴ 'Alī 'Abdur-Razzāq, *Ibid.* p.192.

⁵ Kiyān Magazine, No, 32, p. 8.

Religious people expect religion to cultivate this world as well as the hereafter, but this expectation has no rational or religious basis. This image even though it is acceptable from the lovers it is not acceptable from the rationalists.”¹

Engineer Bāzargān views politics as any other profession such as gardening or shepherding, in which Islam has left it up to the people to use mind, experience, training and also by observing some religious laws regarding what is permissible and unlawful to carry out this duty. Based on this, he says: “It is alright that divine religions approve of justice, managing nations and fighting against oppressors but that they not possess a special ideology, instruction and training in these areas.”²

D) The end of the era of religion

Some believe that religion belongs to the past and at present, in the light of man's progress in numerous areas; it is not capable of answering social and political needs. Furthermore, mans knowledge and logic has grown enough and is capable to decide in place of religion. The Supreme Leader believes:

“Arrogant propaganda against Islam pretends that Islam is not capable of managing Muslims economical and political affairs, and Muslims have no alternative but live according to the capitalistic Western government's criteria, form and contents.”³

Imām Khomeinī in light of this opinion states:

“Politics and guiding society to the criteria of knowledge, justice, equality etc is not something that becomes obsolete with the passage of time in the course of history of man and society.”⁴

E) Change of politics and fixity of religion

Some of the supporters of separation say:

“The union of religion and politics is not possible, because these two subjects are of two district categories. Those afflicted of the evil regime and

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* No, 28, p. 56.

³ *Culture and Cultural Invasion*, p. 103.

⁴ *Imām Khomeinī's Will*, article, (b).

the newspapers slyly print the imperialist slogans for the separation of religion from politics. One of them says: Religion is an issue separate from politics, from politics; politics says one thing today and another thing tomorrow whereas religion says the same thing today, tomorrow and yesterday and so forth. Politics influences and has appearances that change with time whereas the influence and appearance of religion does not change, because religion is comprehensive of time while politics is contained in time.”¹

F) Corruptions and calamities of the union of religion and politics

Supporters of the separation of religion from politics believe the union of religion and politics is a plague and results in corruption that causes the Muslim to separate these two. Here we will point to some of Engineer Bāzargān's views:

1- Transformation of monotheism to polytheism

He states:

“Whenever the progress of individual and social life and desirable management of the material world are placed on the same footing as God and the hereafter, the goal and meaning of life, sincerity in religion and love of God, are rejected and forgotten. Thus monotheism is transformed to polytheism and faith and piety vanishes.”²

2- Despair of people as the result of the incapability of religious leaders

The above named states:

“When the believers, especially the zealous and optimistic youth, are faced with incapability and impotence of religions and witness the authorities and defenders (of religion) are forced either to reform or confess impotence they turn away and become cynical in their beliefs.”³

3- Bitter experience

He states:

¹ Ḥmīd Ruḥānī, *Ibid.* vol.1, p. 314.

² *Kiyān Magazine*, *Ibid.* p. 58.

³ *Ibid.*

"Definitely one thousand years of undisputed religious leadership of the Popes and the Catholic Church leadership over the Kings, nobles and people have left behind nothing except the ignorance, darkness, and suppression ... The Umayyad, 'Abbāssīd and 'Uthmānī Caliph's who regarded themselves as the successor of the Prophet of God, took the Muslim affairs into their own hands. Religion and politics were combined together and Islam and the Name of Allah ruled, but actually religion took orders from the ruling government and we witnessed what oppression and injustices were committed against the Household of the Prophet and his Shī'ite followers."¹

4- Becoming leader by the use of force

He states:

"An Islam that advances by the use of power and force is more of an evil product than a divine religion. From the repeated reminders of the Almighty and Wise God to the Prophet of God and his followers that *"For you are only a reminder. You are not a watcher over them"* and *"There is no compulsory in religion"*, in addition to tens of other verses that proofs of lack of delegation and responsibility of His Holiness vis-à-vis the faithlessness or religion of the people. The Revealer of the Qur'an did not desire that His religion be presented or implemented except by free will and freedom while preserving human dignity and with the backing of propagation and knowledge."²

5- Religion as a tool

It has been stated that according to the general viewpoint and the union of religion with politics, religion is considered a material tool. Engineer Bāzargān states:

"Man is naturally self-conceited, narrow-minded and by nature selfish and exploiting, thus for such a creature it is completely natural to view God and religion from the perspective of personal interest and needs. Moreover, he believes that what God meant by appointment of Prophets and the revelation of the Book of Guidance and the compilation of charter for managing and improving world of humanity."³

¹ *Ibid.* p. 59.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 28.

6- The lack of activity in improving Life

Some believe that with the presence of religion in the political and government arena, the efforts and activity of people for development will decrease. Engineer Bāzargān states:

"If we say that Islam is not only for worship and awareness God and individual piety but also regards material politics, government and guides man to a better life, then a religious society no longer pays attention to work, order, science, management, and research because it believes that everything exists in religion and when religion is complete there will no longer be a need for innovation, discovery and factories ..."¹

7- Religious dictatorship

Some believe that the existence of a theocracy is "Divine Right" and that a ruler is in the position of God's shadow on earth that he regards himself to be guardian of Islamic Law and book. In this regard, Wahīd Ra'fat says:

"The claimants of implementation of Islamic law want to start a new [meaning the priests the Pharaoh rulers], because it is only they who have the authority to interpret religious laws and establish a theocracy; in other words domination of religious ethics over religion and government because of a God-given right."²

8- Sacred religion keeping away from political games

Imām Khomeinī in this regards states:

"Sometimes, they say that let the religious scholars be busy with the mosque and alter in the same uniform, and leave politics to the emperor. This is a thesis which says that the mosque belongs to the pope and politics belongs to the emperor."³

9- Demand violence

Tolstoy and supporters of secularism believe that religion, due to it being based on affection, it must be kept away from the political arena (that demands some sort of violence), and prevents religion from transforming into power of ruler.⁴

¹ A book of *Criticism*, No, 2-3, p. 366.

² Magazine of *the Islamic Government*, *Ibid.* p. 43.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 70.

⁴ 'Amīd Zanjānī, *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 184.

5- Criticism of the philosophy and theory separation

In the previous parts of this article, we became familiar with the supporters view of the separation theory and reasons. In answer to the stated verses of the Holy Qur'an those who see the Holy Prophets position only as that of a messenger must also take note that this view is a result of the lack of knowledge of this holy Book. These verses do not completely state the Holy Prophets duties regarding his mission and prognosis so that it is contrary and inconsistent with the Prophets other positions and authorizations. This is understood from other verses of the Qur'an that state his position on judgment and leadership.

Verses that clearly state the above are numerous; however, for the sake of brevity we state only one wherein The Holy Qur'an states: "*The Holy Prophet is more worthy than the believers*"¹

This verse views the Prophet as the most worthy in managing Muslim affairs and most definitely this priority for occupying this position, is something over and above the position of Prophet of His Holiness. It has been narrated from the Imām Bāqir ('a) regarding the commentary of the above verse that this verse has been revealed about administration and kingship². In a verse from the Holy Qur'an the Prophet has been entrusted duty to create equality in society and this verse is proof enough. It states: "*Certainly We sent Our apostles with clear arguments, and sent down with them the book and the balance that men may conduct themselves with equity.*"³

Despite this, unfortunately, the above verse was explained as thus: "It is clear from this blessed verse the Messengers of God only have the duty to teach and train justice, so that from these stated verses, people have written guidance, access to criteria and a balance of divine justice, and increase their knowledge and logic. It is then they can rationally arise for justice."⁴

Also in this regard Engineer Bāzargān states:

"The meaning of this verse is not as some believe or propagate that it is for people and others to mobilize and fight against oppression, dictatorship, justice and religion; rather, people by their behavior and morals must be the factors of justice and equality."⁵

¹ *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*, 33: 6.

² *Majāmi' al-Bahrain*, p. 92.

³ *Sūrah al-Hadīd*, 57: 25.

⁴ Mahdī Ḥā'irī, *Ibid.* p. 140.

⁵ *Kiyān Magazine*, *Ibid.* p. 54.

Is it possible without reforming society and forming a government to establish justice? Imām Khomeinī, the great commentator of Qur'an, regarding the above verse states: "God Almighty says that I sent prophets and gave them proofs. We gave verses to them. We sent a criteria for them *"That men may conduct themselves with equity"* meaning that men should establish justice, social justice among people; destroy oppression; destroy the injustices; help the weak and arise for justice. The Holy Qur'an continues: *"we have made the iron."* Where is the agreement in this? The agreement in this is that these must be performed with verses, proofs, and with iron *"where in is great violence and advantages to men"*; meaning if a person or group wants to destroy a society; to destroy a government that is based on justice, they must be spoken to with reference to verses; if they do not listen, then with the criteria of reason; if they do not listen then with iron."¹

The great thinker Murtaḍā Muṭahharī views the spreading of justice and eradicating oppression as the criteria that differentiates the Prophet from a non-prophet and considers them as among true proofs². Of course, this does not mean the Prophets were materialists. Establishing a government and interfering in social affairs is not the main and real goal. Imām Khomeinī has differentiated the prophets' inherent objective meaning, based on the first aim, from subordinate aims and states: "All that the prophets revealed were not their objectives. Establishing a government is not an intrinsic objective for the prophets."³

In light of the prophets reformist stance and their fighting against social corruption it can be stated that; "Prophets were not indifferent to issues around them and in different cases showed reaction. The Holy Qur'an regarding the Prophet Shu'ayb states: *"I desire nothing but reform so far as I am able ..."*⁴ According to this verse the prophet fought against economic difficulties of the type that was common in his time. Moreover, it clearly states: *"Give me a full measure and be not of those who diminish. And weigh (things) with a balance."*⁵ For some of the Prophets, when the conditions for establishing a government existed, they formed a government as can be seen in examples such as the Prophet Solomon, Joseph, David and the family of Abraham. In previous discussions, an enlightened intellectual stated that this

¹ *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 213.

² Martyr Muṭahharī, *Collection of Works*, vol. 2, p.167.

³ *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 285.

⁴ *Sūrah al-Hūd*, 11: 88.

⁵ *Sūrah ash-Shawrā*, 26: 181.

matter was an exception.¹ However if the establishment of a government was considered a non-religious affair, that same limited number of exceptions should not also have ruled.

The general understanding and the Muslim's familiarity with Islam from the beginning of Islam until now was such that its teachings has spread to all aspects of human life and especially government and politics. The source for this general understanding can be sought in two real subjects: 1- The Holy Prophet's formation of a government; 2- Islam's stances in all arenas of politics and government. The legitimacy of the Holy Prophets government was not as most writers believe it to be the people's choice. Political leadership was not given to the Messenger by the vote of all Muslim and furthermore, swearing allegiance was only for strengthening the government and allowing the people to participate in the executive affairs. The prophets' political leadership arises from his position as prophet. The role model of the Infallible Imāms, the establishment of a government by Imām 'Alī, his treaty with Mālik Ashtar, Imām Ḥasan's brief government, the Imām Ḥusayn's bloody uprising, non-acknowledgment of the contemporary government by the other Imāms as constitutional, are all proof that the Immaculate Imāms ('a) would not abstain from putting practice their guidance wherever possible. For endorsement of this matter, it is also necessary to study the Imām's views so that many of the stated ambiguities are clarified.

6- Explanation of Imām Khomeinī's thoughts and proving the union of religion and politics

One of Imām Khomeinī's valuable efforts was in regard to the study of the union of religion and politics. The Imām himself was involved in this movement at a time when for years the theory of the separation of religion from politics was put forward among religious scholars and had also become a belief among them.

The Imām, in this regard states;

"It is now several years that it has been propagated such that even we, the clergy believed that we have nothing to do with politics. It means that we put Islam aside completely; that Islam be buried in these our classroom , they want God to separate religion from politics; separate religion from politics is what the politicians taught the people to say, such that now even

¹ *Kiyān Magazine, Ibid. p. 6.*

we believe what do we have nothing to do with politics; leave politics to the experts.”¹

In this regard in 1941, the Imām in answer to the book “*The Secrets of One Thousand Epistle*” he wrote the valuable book “*Kashf al-Asrār*” in which he emphasized on the supervision of the clergy in the executive and political affairs of the country. After traveling to Najaf, in his first speech, he officially announced that Islam has an agenda for living; that Islam has an agenda for government.²

In the Imām’s jurisprudence works such as “*al-Bay*” he stressed a higher position than supervision for the jurists and considered it obligatory for them to establish a government. In the book “*Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*” (which is considered a scientific thesis) in the chapter regarding enjoining good and forbidding evil he raised the discussion of government and politics and categorically states:

“During the Imām Mahdī’s occultation the representatives Savior the Imām are to pass religious decrees and judgment; the Savior Imāms successor are responsible for the implementation of political and government affairs and other affairs that the responsibility of the Imām. However, *Jihād* for defense is an exception.”³

In the book “*Guardianship of the Jurist*” he clearly discusses the subject of an Islamic government and uses various rational and narrated reasons to emphasize the need to establish a government. On the one hand the Imām deals with the effects of the separation of religion from politics and on the other hand he puts forth reasons for the union of religion and politics. In the first section the Imām regarding the separation of religion from politics, states he foresees the following effects and repercussions:

1. The destruction of nations

The Imām states:

“The plunderers and conspirators tried with their academic reforms to deviate and isolate Islam, as they did with Christianity, and to restrict religious scholars within a framework of worship issues and they were successful in this regard and took advantage of our ignorance and neglect.

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1 p. 27.

² Ḥmīd Ruḥānī, *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 157.

³ Imām Khomeinī, *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, p. 418.

They either colonized Muslim lands or exploited them and a great number of Muslim rulers were hired and through them the nations were weakened and exploited resulting in dependence and poverty on the subjugated masses.”¹

2. The restrictions on jurisprudence

Imām Khomeinī states:

“When the slogan of separation of religion from politics became widespread, and jurisprudence became submerged in rationality of the unaware in individual worship and instructions, the most definitely the jurists was also not allowed to leave this circle and fencing and intervene in politics and government.”²

3. The neglect and oblivion of Islam’s political teachings

By putting political issues of Islam aside, slowly religious laws will be forgotten. The Imām states:

“A majority of jurisprudential issues were put aside; they were written in books but were put aside and a majority of the Qur’anic verses were also put aside. We read the Holy Qur’an and kiss it but we neglect it. Verses pertaining to society; verses on politics; verses on war; they were numerous such that a majority of verses related to these issues were ignored by us; actually they forced us to ignore them.”³

In another section the late the Imām with proving his theory, emphasizes three important and essential subjects such as universality of Islam, the quality and nature of Islam’s laws and the Prophets ways.

Before explaining the two mentioned reasons, it is necessary to remember this point that if we had no reason for participating in political affairs, the inherent nature of man demands it. A studying of mankind’s history shows that man due to his choosing a social life is forced to satisfy his needs from a social order and to cooperate in that order. On the other hand, conflicts and clashes in wants of mankind and his spirit of domination intensifies the need for social laws such that even a impious and oppressive regime with all its evil and mischief is preferable to anarchy and disorder.

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 89.

² *Ibid.* vol. 21, p. 91.

³ *Ibid.* vol. 15, p. 56.

Thus Imām 'Alī states: "Men desire a government and be it virtuous or be it tyrannical."¹

'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī views the establishment of an Islamic government as a natural affair and with reference to the verse "*They set your face upright for religion in the right state*"² he considers the religion of Islam as a religion of disposition and its tenets to be in accordance with mans nature and says:

"The intrinsic need for the establishment of a government was such that when the Prophet of Islam after migrating to Medina formed an Islamic government even while questions regarding menstruation and the sighting of the moon and other such common subjects were asked about these affairs, yet they did not ask any question or demand explanation in this instance. It was never heard for someone to say that "The principle of appointment of the leader is not necessary or there is no reason for its need, because everyone felt a natural motivation that the wheels of an Islamic society will not run on its own without a leader, and Islam must implement this reality that in an Islamic society a government must definitely exist."³ Thus Imām Khomeinī religious guardianship as a manifestation of the union of religions and politics and also deems it necessary and says: "The religious guardianship is a subject that is self-evident and has little need for proof."⁴

After this introduction, we take a short look at two proofs:

1- The universality of Islam

Imām Khomeinī in different places by putting forward Islam's universality emphasizes on the need for designing a political philosophy of Islam and regards the theory of the separation of religion from politics to be a result of neglect of this important subject. In this regard, he says:

"They propagated that Islam is not a universal religion; that it does not have a system for social living and has no laws and does not possess forms of government and government laws."⁵

In another place, he states:

¹ *Nahaj al-Balāghah*, sermon 40.

² *Sūrah ar-Rum*, 30: 30.

³ 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Islamic investigations*, p. 1167-177.

⁴ Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 4.

"Islam and an Islamic government is a divine phenomenon that with its implementation, children's happiness is best guaranteed in this world and the hereafter. Furthermore, it has the power to eliminate oppressors and plunderers, corruption and aggression and to guide people to the desired perfection. It is a doctrine that contrary to non-monotheistic doctrines, intervenes and supervises individual and social, material and spiritual, cultural and political, military and economic spheres and does not leave any point however, minute, concerning training of human being and society as well as national and spiritual aspects unattended."¹

The Imām's words were inspired by the Holy Prophet of Islam's words during his last pilgrimage when he had said:

"Oh people! There is nothing that brings you close to heaven and far away from hell, except that which I have enjoyed you to perform; and there is nothing in it that draws you near you to hell and keeps you away from heaven except than that which I have forbidden you from."²

The Imām not only regards politics to be part of the Islamic laws and canons, rather he believes that Islamic political decrees forms a major part of the doctrine that with its negation Islam is incomplete. In this regard, he says:

"There are many verses in the Qur'an and narrations regarding politics than are not mentioned in worship. If you study 50 jurisprudence books, 7 or 8 of them are about worship which the remainder are about politics, society, interactions etc..."³

In another place, he states: "All teachings are mixed with politics ... prayer is mixed with politics; *hajj* is mixed with politics; *zakāt* is mixed with politics; so is the administration of a country."⁴

2- The essence of Islam's regulations

As Islam's laws have been enacted for managing social, political, military, economic, and cultural systems, it calls for variety and increase laws in different governmental systems. The Imām views the essence and the quality of these laws to be the reason for establishing a government. In this

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 402.

² *Uṣūl Kāfi*, vol. 3, p. 118.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. 10, p. 18.

regard we point to monetary laws such as tributes, taxation, revenues, national defense laws ... and criminal laws and regulations.¹

Islam's commands cannot be implemented except with realization of an active political system and we witnessed that in the time of the oppressive regime religion was not present in the present politics, and a great amount of religious laws remained unattended. Thus, in some narratives, guardianship which is political appointment has been introduced as a key to religious obligation. It is narrated from Imām Bāqir that:

"Islam is based upon five things namely: prayer, *zakāt*, hajj, fasting and religious guardianship. When the narrator asked which of these was superior. The Imām replied: guardianship is superior because it is the key to other acts."²

The Imām regards one of the evils of inattention to administration and administrative approaches to be the absence of implementation of Islamic laws and states:

"Because in the past we did not arise together masse for the establishment of a government and the overthrow of the deceitful and corrupt rulers Islam's influence and sovereignty was decreased in society, Islam's nation suffered from division and impotent, and Islamic laws remained dorm out."³

3- The practical way of the Holy Prophet

In Islam, the foundation of politics was laid by the Holy Prophet. the Imām in different instances resorted to this method and states:

"A body of laws is not enough to reform a society. It requires executive and administrative branches so that these laws can reform man. Therefore, God alongside the revelation of a body of laws established a government and executive and administrative system. The Holy Prophet was at the head of the executive and administrative machinery of the Muslim society ... at that

¹ Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 20-25.

² *Uṣūl-e Kāfi*, vol. 3, p. 30.

³ Imām Khomeinī, *Ibid.* p. 32.

time for example, he was not content only with statement of the penal law; rather, he would at the same time, resort to its implementation.”¹

In another part, he states:

“From the beginning of Islam at the time of the Prophet of Islam when there was no deviation involved politics and religion were together. These courtier religious scholars, and these so-called American and Soviet Union stooges, must either condemn the Prophet and prophets and the prophets successors (and) or they must condemn themselves and governments. This matter revolved around these two.”²

In another place, he states:

“The Holy Prophet ... spent his entire life in Islamic politics and established an Islamic government ... For a time in Mecca, the Prophet could not establish a government, but he was busy enlarging his following he was engaged in underground politics. Then when he saw it convenient suitable and was in Medina, he formed a government.”³

In another place, the Imām says:

“During the time of the prophet, was politics separate from religion? During that time, were some religious scholars while some others politicians? During the caliphs time and, in the Imām ‘Alī’s time was politics separate from religion and were two systems? These words come from the imperialists and their political stooges with the aim of preventing religion from intervening in material affairs and managing Muslim society and, also in order to divide Islam’s scholars from the people, freedom fighters. In this way they can dominate the people and plunder the wealth. Their aim is this.”⁴

The Imām’s view of the Prophets tradition is based on narrations that are quoted from Imām Ṣādiq which states: “*God trained His Prophet, very well. When his training was completed, He stated: You have good and great moral*

¹ *Ibid.* p. 17.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 204.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 11.

⁴ Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 23.

*behavior. Therefore, religious affairs and the Muslim nation were entrusted to him so that he could undertake the politics of managing people's affairs."*¹

Imām Khomeinī calls upon Muslims to follow the Prophet's example in intervening in political affairs and said:

"Muslims must study the Prophets ways especially that of our Holy Prophet. We must see what he did and take lesson from them. If the prophet only sat in the mosque in Medina and read the Holy Qur'an and did nothing more, we would have done the same, we would have emulated him; but, from the beginning of his arrival in Mecca he was busy fighting until he migrated to Medina. Once in Medina, he established a government. He sent emissaries everywhere, to wherever he had access."²

The Imām even though he emphasizes on the necessity of intervention in political affairs, yet he does not neglect the arguments of supporters of the separation of religion from politics. The Imām categorically views the denial of the need to establish a government as being the same as the denial of Islam and states:

"Whoever says that the establishment of an Islamic government is not necessary, is denying the necessity for Islamic laws and canons and is denying the universality of the Islam and the eternity the great religion of Islam."³

The Imām in regards to rejecting the religious dictatorship stated:

"Islamic government is not like another present government. It is not a dictatorship so that its head be dictatorial and egocentric and treat the life and property of the people as playthings."⁴

In another place says:

"If a jurist commits even a minor sin, he is deposed from religious jurisprudential authority, you think religious jurisprudence is something small to be entrusted to just anyone? Those that say: Dictatorship occurs; they do not know that that an Islamic government is not a dictatorship.

¹ *Uṣūl-e Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 5.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 412.

³ Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat Faqīh*, p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 32.

Religion has stood opposite them. Islam resists against dictatorship and we want the jurist in order to stop dictatorship.”¹

The Imām in response to pseudo-materialism of intellectual says:

“Possessing leadership is not an honor and position; rather, it is a means for implementing religious laws and establishing a just Islamic order.”² “Tying this world with the hereafter and religion with politics is the most important mission of divine religions and this is the skill of Islam and the doctrine of Qur’an. Of course, what is basically the view of religion, is achieving the highest people of spirituality and perfection; but to achieve this goal, in human society requires the establishment of a government and the reform of a system of living.”

The Imām in response to those who claim that the Prophet did not come to establish justice and equality; rather, he came to lay the foundation for the people themselves to establish justice, says:

“Is it possible to arise for justice and enjoin people to justice without intervention in politic affairs? Is it possible without intervention in politics and social affairs and without intervening in the needs of nations to arise for justice and equality without intervention?”³

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 306.

² Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 44.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 215.

Characteristics of a Desirable Government from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint

Muḥammad-Husayn Jamshīdī¹

Abstract

Suitability of government in management of society is one of the basic issues in political philosophy, which is determined by the subject, kind and nature of government, and not by its form because its form focuses on structure and appearance, while its kind includes content, quality and truth. In specifying the nature of an appropriate government, thinkers have mainly emphasized a series of standards and characteristics such as justice, observing public interests, etc ...

Imām Khomeinī whose political thinking is based on monotheism and belief in God, with regard to the appropriateness of government has not only paid attention to its kind and nature but he has also described the nature of the desirable government in terms of three principles of divine justice governing the world of existence, the issue of man being appointee of God on earth and the divine revelation. Hence, according to Imām Khomeinī, the superior criteria of a desirable government are justice, democracy and Islam. Furthermore, he stresses criterion such as knowledge and awareness, basing state decrees on exegesis of Islamic texts, piety, prudence, acceptance of

¹ A research fellow of political thought in Islam at Imām Khomeinī and Islamic revolution research center.

criticism, honesty and so on which can be assumed to have secondary importance.

Therefore, Imām Khomeinī views a kind of desirable government that is based on the three elements of justice, religion (divine revelation) and people (reason) and thus, we can consider it a just, democratic and legitimated Islamic government:

The institution of government is so significant that not only do we have government in Islam; rather, Islam is a government per se and canonical decrees are laws that are one of the aspects of government.

First preface

One of the most fundamental questions that is always posed in political philosophy that every philosopher or thinker has somehow attempted to address is the question what form of the government is the most suitable for leading and managing human societies.¹ In this regard, some thinkers have resorted to study of the kind and content of a government. For instance, Plato in the book "The Republic"² acknowledges his ideal government as being the government of prudence or government of philosophers and believes that:

... Corruption in the cities and in mankind in general won't decrease unless philosophers rule the cities or rulers sincerely join philosophers and political power is to be integrated with philosophy in a single person... (Plato₁: 315-316).

He has stressed this topic with the same vigor in his seventh epistle:

Only philosophy can organize the private and social life of human beings. Therefore, mankind will get rid of pessimism when righteous philosophers rule the society or the rulers turn toward philosophy and contemplate it to a sufficient extent. (Plato₂: 1970)

Hence, according to Plato the appropriate government is that of philosophers. Specifying the best kind of government, after categorizing government and dividing them into six types, Aristotle considers polity as the

¹ Some thinkers and philosophers have put forward this issue "The appropriate ruler" and conditions and characteristics of a merited ruler."

² This book is entitled "*Politeia*" which, in Greek means politics, political system, citizens' rights and ... its subtitle is "on justice".

appropriate government. Polity is a government based on constitution ('Alam 1993-94: 269) and in Aristotle's words:

"It aims at the good of all and is run by the majority" (Aristotle: 119)

Similarly, Islamic philosophers such as Abūnaṣr Fārābī, Avicenna, 'Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Āmirī and Ibn-e Meskoye etc have paid attention to the content and form of government. Also, in Shī'ism the appropriateness of a government is based on its nature, content and form.

Amongst the world thinkers, some have paid attention to the form of government. For instance, Thomas Hobbes and David Hume consider the rule of individualistic as the best kind. Others have put their fingers on the qualities and traits of the ruler of society. The more appropriate the ruler, the more appropriate the government. For instance, the Imām Muḥammad Ghazālī in "*Faḍā'ih al-Bāṭiniyyah*" enumerates altogether ten conditions for the leadership of society (al-Ghazālī: 180). Whereas Māwardī has put forward seven conditions (al-Māwardī 6: 1406). The conditions put forward by Ghazālī are as follows: maturity, wisdom, being free (not being a slave), being from Quraysh race, being male, sound eyes and ears (not auditory or sight problems), personality, competence, piety and knowledge.

Generally speaking, in discussing the appropriateness of government, some thinkers have emphasized the nature of the government as body while sometimes they have put the emphasis on rulers and form of government.¹ Accordingly, for each one of them, specific conditions have been taken into account.

Second preface

Imām Khomeinī, the great thinker of the contemporary world of Islam and the leader of one of the greatest revolutions, will always be remembered in the history of Iran and the world. Not only did he put forward the theory of his idea of a desirable government; rather, he also had the honor to establish such a government and to preside over it as well. Therefore, in his opinion it is important to review and study the most suitable and best form of government.

First of all, he himself is a theorist. With regard to political philosophy, Islamic jurisprudence, the vital and sensitive place of government in

¹ Some have not distinguished between the type and form of government and have equated the two, which is incorrect. Type of government signifies its nature, content and inner meaning while form refers to its formal and external structure. For example, government run by an individual is a unique form of government in which the person is at its apex while democratic and Islamic government etc expresses type of government.

managing the society, progress and safeguard of religion and also with regard to the demands of time and place and the element of expedience in particular, he undertook to present and complete his theory of administration. Hence, the theory of government is of utmost importance in his ideology and occupies an important and lofty position the issue of government; he expressed his view as below:

In all aspects, Islam is government and canonical decrees are Islamic laws. Decrees manifest government; rather, appropriate decrees are necessary for government and are tools for administration of government and extension of justice. When it is said that the jurists are the fortifications of Islam, it signifies that they oversee and supervise Islam as was the Holy Prophet and his household were guardians of Islam in all administrative affairs. (Imām Khomeinī, vol. 2: 437).

Secondly, as was mentioned previously, Imām Khomeinī succeeded to establish his desirable government despite the demands of the time and era and his limited lifetime. He managed to form a government in the shape of Islamic republic after years of struggle through God's grace and the support of the Iranian people. His government put justice of the type advocated by Ḥaḍrat 'Alī ('a) on its agenda along with democracy. It is a government which does not resemble any of the existing regimes of the world. When asked what kind of government he wanted to replace the Shāh, he replied:

"The oppressive regime of the Shāh will be replaced with a just regime which does not resemble any regime in western democracy. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 314).

His movement and steps he took toward the formation of a government is an issue that makes his attention to the appropriateness of government goes beyond that of a mere theorist. In fact here he is seen as the founder and patron of an appropriate government. Therefore, in establishing this government, he must have paid particular attention to its appropriateness. For instance, on the issue of the necessity of the formation of an appropriate and merited government within the framework of Islam during the time of absence of the Savior, what he strove to establish for and achieved, he states:

"As it is necessary to enact the decrees until extremity, likewise, the formation of government and executive system is also necessary. Without the formation of government which brings under a just order, all the

movements and activities of the people, anarchy and corruption will spread throughout the society" (Imām Khomeinī: 28-29).

Thirdly, it is extremely important that not only is Imām Khomeinī the theoretician and founder of the government; rather, he also is its ideologue, leader and organizer. His being its leader for about ten years gave him the chance to repeatedly test his theories in various conditions of time and place and to add to its strength, vigor and righteousness. That is why he introduced his desired government using a compound phrase of¹ "Islamic republic" and in reply to a journalist, he states:

We declared an Islamic republic and the people have approved of it through their successive rallies; it is a government that relies on people's votes and is based on Islamic laws and criteria. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 391).

Herein, as the leader of an established government, he resorts to the two basic characteristics of his appropriate government i.e. relying on people's votes and being based on Islamic rules. Being at the head of the government for ten years enabled him to improve his theory of government in term of theory and practice.

Fourthly, Imām Khomeinī from the line of his intellectual maturity and development, started the struggle against oppression and cruelty and fought for establishment of an appropriate government. His visit to the late Bāfghī who was in exile under the orders of Riḍā Khān (Rajabī 1990-91: 9) is an instance of the beginning of his fight against the oppressive regime of Riḍā Khān and his attempt to establish an appropriate government. For instance, he writes in his book that:

The just God can never endorse the act of yielding to the government of the oppressors. The only righteous government according to reason and canon is the government of God, i.e. the government of divine law ... (281).

Generally, the struggle, uprising and attempts made by Imām Khomeinī to confront the Pahlavī regime indicate that from the outset he was opposed to the existing regime and was looking to set up an appropriate government which he succeed in implementing both in theory and in practice. Therefore,

¹ According to Imām Khomeinī, Islamic republic is a unified imperative but linguistically it is a compound word. For instance, hot water is one thing but linguistically it is composed of two words. Of course this is different from the view of some foreigners who distinguish between Islam and Islamic republic

the issue of the appropriate government according to Imām Khomeinī is significant from at least four respects meaning from angle of a tighter and opponent of the status quo and seeker of a desirable situation, a jurist and contemplative theoretician, a founder and patron of a government and an ideologue and leader of government. Hence in this article we will attempt to point to his idea of an appropriate government in brief.

For this purpose, first, we will say something about the forms of government including the approved or rejected according to him, and then we will touch upon some of the standards and qualities of his desired government in terms of the type and content of government which in his view is fundamental.

The form of government in Imām Khomeinī's view

An important issue for Muslim philosophers, jurists and thinkers is that what is more acceptable is the type content and quality of government rather than its form and external structure. In the holy Qur'an and also narratives there is no emphasis on a certain and specific form because it is presumed that the form of the government is dependent on the demands of time, place and progress of human societies. Therefore, it is not correct to put forward a specific form of government for all times. Consequently, the focus of attention is the content and nature of government which is determined through a series of specific standards and attributes. On this subject, 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī writes:

"In the Islamic canon there is no mention of a decree for determining the forms of government and truly there should not be such a thing because religious canons only ensure the fixed principles of religion while the manner of government changes as the societies change with the progress of civilization (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, vol. 1: 193).

Imām Khomeinī has also endorsed this point. Therefore, according to him, the main issue concerning the appropriateness of a government is its nature and content which is sometimes interpreted as the kind of government, but its shape follows the demands of time and place and therefore, is regarded as secondary and is determined through the sources of legitimacy, facilities, capabilities, public demands and the interests of society and religion. In other words, some current forms of government are compatible with some principles of legitimacy or specific conditions of population conditions or the interests of the people and their religion in a society. The form of government indicates its general structure. Some prevalent forms of

government are as follows: aristocracy, parliamentary democracy, monarchy, socialist government, fascist government, dictatorship, etc. Of course, the governments are divided into three broad categories based on the kind, aims, structure and function of the government... individual, group and majority, each of which can be divided into various categories.

In Islam, after discussing the kind and content of government, which is called Islamic government, the form of government is determined on the basis of requirements. For instance, during the time of the early caliphs, the government system was caliphate. It is for this reason that Imām Khomeinī in stating and interpreting his viewpoint on government initially uses the phrase of Islamic government, but at the threshold of establishing the government or after establishing all his attention is focused on an Islamic republic. Hence, according to his ideology, the Islamic government signifies the kind and content of the government, while the Islamic government, though in a sense is considered as specific kind of government, but to some extent referred to its form. In other words, the Islamic government could manifest itself in the form of an Islamic republic. However, according to the comments made by Imām Khomeinī, it could be argued that Islamic republic is not a certain form of government; rather, its form is dependent on the conditions, requirements and the wishes of the people as he stated that:

We want to establish an Islamic republic and it is government that relies on people's votes. The final form of government will be determined by the people with regard to the present conditions and requirements of our society. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 248).

This statement demonstrates that in the viewpoint of the Imām,
Firstly, kind, content and nature of the Islamic government counts and not its form.

Secondly, the Islamic republic does not have a specific form of government; rather, it is a kind of Islamic government based on general opinions of Muslims (Iranians).

Thirdly, the form of government or its final form is determined by the people and this is a general issue and does not pertain to a specific period.

Fourthly, the form of government or its final form is dependent on the conditions and requirement of societies.

Imām Khomeinī has touched on this issue in his reply to the Sunni reporter of *al-Mustaqbal* Magazine:

By Islamic government we mean a government inspired by the policies of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Imām 'Alī, a government based on the people's votes whose form is ascertained through reference to their votes. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 334).

These statements prove that Imām Khomeinī did not believe in a single form for the Islamic government which can be applicable of all times. Therefore, he leaves the form of government to the requirements, conditions and the opinion of the people. Moreover, these views don't match with the view of those who consider Islam as the type and the republic as the form of government because in his view, Islamic republic is a single concept. It is a unitary thing not a discrete thing, meaning it is a government based on general votes of Muslims and according to this sense, a republic can not refer to the form of government; rather, to its nature and this is precisely contrary to the views of those who consider republic as a particular form of government. However, the idea that the republic is a specific form of government has originated from western countries and then found its way into our societies.

Rejected forms of government according to Imām Khomeinī

Imām Khomeinī denounced monarchy as a type of government controlled by one individual because it is based on total hereditary authority. It revolves around force and dominion and leads to dictatorship and corruption. Therefore, it is contrary to the will of the majority. After the legitimacy of the first monarch, the legitimacy of his successor is questionable and becomes irrational. For this reason Imām Khomeinī explicitly says: "The essence of monarchy is illogical; monarchy is an ancient reactionary regime. In its own time, too, it was irrelevant. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 490).

At another place he says:

Monarchy and succession in revolve to the crown is the same government against which the Imām Ḥusayn rose and was martyred. No form of monarchy is approved by Islam. (Imām Khomeinī₃: 12)

Likewise, according to him if the empires and kingdoms are established on the basis of succession and oppression they shall be rejected. Liberal democracies and communism as in the US and USSR respectively are rejected by Imām Khomeinī. Likewise, constitutional monarchy such as during the Pahlavī regime was not accepted by him.

In general, in Imām Khomeinī's view dictatorial government in whatever form are not acceptable.

Islamic government is neither dictatorship nor totalitarian nor constitutional in the present sense in that all the ratified laws are dependent on the opinion of the majority. (Imām Khomeinī₃: 52)

It is because all these government are in essence based on oppression and domination and are therefore unconstitutional.

The somewhat desirable forms of government according to Imām Khomeinī

As mentioned before, governments are generally of three forms; individual, collective and majority. Any one of them could be suitable and acceptable according to Imām Khomeinī if some special conditions and requirements are met and with regard to their nature and content on which they are based. For example, the best case of a rule by an individual according to Imām Khomeinī is that of the Infallible Imāms superior to which no appropriate government is conceivable. After that the government of the theologians and jurists which is of significance if they meet the conditions mentioned by him. (Imām Khomeinī₃: 52)

Similarly the government of a just person or just believers is also an instance of government of an individual approved by Imām Khomeinī apart from the above two governments. In *Kitāb al-Bay'*, in the chapter on jurisprudence, he devotes some parts to the government of just believers (vol. 2). However, in *Kashf al-Asrār* he writes:

If an assembly of pious theologians who are knowledgeable of God's decrees and who are just and devoid of soul of carnality and are not tainted with materiality and office and who have no motive other than the interest of the people and implementation of the commandments of God, is established and, they elect a just ruler who does not violate God's decrees and is averse to injustice and oppression, there is nothing wrong with that (185).

On the other hand, as it was said earlier, the form of the government is dependent on the conditions, requirements and the wish of the people and the society in which the government is established. Therefore, what is of more significance to Imām Khomeinī is the content of governments, not their form.

As far as the writer of this article knows, Imām Khomeinī did not make a firm comment on elitist governments such as aristocracy or oligarchy. However, he has categorically spoken on democracy, constitutionalism or republic which explicitly indicate concept, nature, content and kind of government of our consideration. He labeled his desired government as follows: democracy in a certain sense and different from liberal democracy while at times he considers republic as a government based on people's direct or indirect votes—national government; or legal government based on divine laws and none of these instances refer to the form of government. This is because each one of them could take the form of an individual-run government, a collective one, etc.

As a specimen, here we refer to some of Imām Khomeinī's viewpoints:

1- Islamic government ... is a national government, a government based on divine law and people's votes. It has not arriving on the scene with bullying or compulsion to want to sustain itself in that way. It has been chosen through people's votes and the nation sustains it. If at any time it acts against vote of people, then definitely it is rejected (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 213).

2- The regime which succeeds the Shah's oppressive regime is a just government whose type you can not find in western democracy. Our intended democracy may be similar to the western democracies, but the democracy we want establish does not exist in the West. The Islamic democracy is more complete and better than western democracy. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 314).

3- The Islamic government is constitutional, because its rulers are bound in practice by series of conditions which have to be observed. (Imām Khomeinī₃: 52).

4- The basic difference between the Islamic government and the monarchies or republic is that people's representatives [in republics] and the king [in constitutional governments] set the rules, whereas in Islam the pious Islamic legislator is the only legislative power. (Imām Khomeinī₃: 52).

With these statements, Imām Khomeinī pays attention to the kind and the content of the government which is Islamic government or the government of monotheism which might have some commonalities with constitutional monarchies, republic in the current sense, nationalist, and democracy and so on, though it differs in nature and content fundamentally from them. Therefore, according to Imām Khomeinī the form of a government cannot be

indicative of its suitability. What proves the suitability of a government is its nature and content which we call the type of government.

Now we have to determine what type government is advocated by Imām Khomeinī which he calls the appropriate one. Perhaps the answer is absolute religious jurisprudence, but this kind of government is the most appropriate in a society in which there is a qualified jurist and religious people and in addition if it is possible for the qualified jurist to establish a government.

Therefore, in this article, instead of studying suitability in form or type of government, we elaborate on suitability in terms of characteristics and criteria of a government and we seek what criteria or characteristics have been stressed by Imām Khomeinī for a desirable government.

The criteria and characteristics of a desirable government

Imām Khomeinī's ideology is based on monotheism. Considering that the appropriateness of a government is a subject dealt with in political philosophy while political philosophy like ethics is based on the outlook of human beings of the world and man, thus, Imām Khomeinī has based the suitability of a government on monotheism and religion. Accordingly, the main pillar of this desirability consists of divine justice prevailing over the world of existence, that status of man as Khomeinī of God on earth and their being Islamic and in accordance with lofty divine tenets. Now we shall review the criteria of a desirable government from the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī based on these three fundamental criteria.

In enumerating the characteristics and criteria of the appropriate government according to Imām Khomeinī, we refer to two categories of characteristics:

First category of criteria

We could consider the first category as being the essence of an appropriate government or its necessary condition. They are as follows 1) justice; 2) being Islamic or compatibility with Islamic laws and norms; 3) being popular or based on the general vote (democracy). The second category of criteria are of secondary importance and therefore, we may regard them as the requirements for perfection of government: These are 1) knowledge and awareness; 2) exegesis of the divine canons in the governmental regulations; 3) piety; 4) prudence and management; 5) openness to criticism; 6) servility; 7) honesty; 8) political stability and ...

Of course, it does not mean that an appropriate government may lack the second category of criteria; rather, it means that they are secondary to the

first three pillars which are foundation pillars of desirable government. In this article we study the three main criteria that are more important, and finally, we shall point to the main criteria of the second category. Likewise, it is necessary to remind that Imām Khomeinī but this issue does not imply that government lack such characteristics, because a characteristic may exist in an individual it can also exist and in a social institution such as a collective of individuals.

1- Just government (justice)

One of the most important standard and criteria of an appropriate government according to Imām Khomeinī is justice and it should be manifested in all its aspects such as function, objectives, responsibilities, duties and reactions of the rulers. He believes that not only is the realization of justice a duty of the government and the most important aim of Islam; rather, the desirability of government is recognized on the basis of justice, seeking justice and spreading justice. It is for this reason that His Holiness has repeatedly stressed this objective. For instance, he states:

When we say Islamic government, we mean a government of justice; we mean that there must be a ruler not abusing the common wealth of Muslims. This is a fact approved by all human societies and by all persons (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 509).

In this statement, first of all, Imām Khomeinī has equated Islamic government—the most significant of his demands in realization of an Islamic revelation—with the government of justice and therefore, its being Islamic could be synonymous with justice because it is impossible to have an Islamic government without justice. Without justice there is no Islam. Of course a government can be a faithless one and yet not be an oppressive and unjust government but this does not mean that it is definitely just. However, some distinguish being Islamic from being just but we accept that Islam is based on justice and that justice forms the basis and foundation of Divine religion could we claim that being Islamic and being just are distinct? Perhaps the meaning of justice is broader, but being Islamic could not be separated from justice. Imām Khomeinī clearly states: "Islam which is based on justice". (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 109).

Secondly, basing the desired government on justice is consistent with human nature and is universally approved. For this reason, Imām Khomeinī believes that it will be accepted to all societies and nobody will disagree with it. Likewise, on the government being just, he states in another instance that:

We want a just government that takes our country's interests into account (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 160).

From this statement we conclude that it is a clarification of the former statement and of many of his other statements although these latter explanations each mention part of the purposes and objectives of the former ones. For this reason, the latter statement is different from the former one. Imām Khomeinī has frequently commented on justice, for instance, he states:

We are asking for a government of justice, an Islamic government of justice. Also, this is the wish of every human being to have a just ruler who does not plunder his country and flee the country every once a while. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 91).

Here a fair government has been considered as the ideal and wish of every human being. Also he says:

The workers of factories and other workers and employees of any guild must know that Islam has been on their side since the very beginning and in a fair Islamic government they will not be oppressed and treated unjustly. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 262).

In this statement two qualities of a just government have been stressed: 1) lack of exploitation 2) support of the poor strata of the society. In the following statement, Imām Khomeinī refers to the consequences of justice and a fair government;

If you want a government of justice, you want a fair government; if you want to have welfare, if you want the comfort of the poor, if you want a rich not to oppress you...; if you want the government not to do injustice to you ... (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 328).

Likewise, he also adds:

Establish Islamic justice. Under Islamic justice everybody will live in freedom, independence and comfort. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, p. 115, vol. 7).

Generally, it could be understood that the definitions and explanations given by the Imām following his statements on justice are elaboration of the aims, results, criteria or interpretations of justice and fair government.

Some of the most important criteria are as follows:

1. Absence of oppression: "Neither do we oppress others nor we will be oppressed." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 291).
2. Realization of freedom in society.
3. Realization of independence and lack of dependence on outsiders²
4. Being in line with Islamic laws and regulations.
5. Realization of welfare and increased livelihood.
6. Realization of the rights of all people from different social strata.
7. Lack of discrimination between genders and religious ministries and other instances of discrimination.
8. Fairness.
9. Absence of exploitation.
10. Affection for the subjects and equality in lifestyle of the administrators with them:

We aspire to have such a government[the government of the Imām 'Alī], a just government interested in its subjects and whose leader believes that he must eat dry bread lest someone is hungry in his country. We want to establish such a government o justice. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 57)

11. Spending of the country's revenues for the development of the country.
12. No misuse of the public treasury.
13. Establish economic justice instead of system of exploitation.
14. Rely on people's votes and opinions.

"We want a divine government in agreement with the wishes of the people and the commandments of God; God's will is the same as that of the people. Our people are faithful Muslims. They are spiritual beings. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 461).

15. Economic growth and so forth.

Also according to Imām Khomeinī all canonical decrees are means to realize justice and fair government in society. Therefore, without the realization of justice and establishing a government based on justice, the Divine canons are meaningless.

"Canonical decrees are Islamic tenets and are part of the aspects of government; rather, the decrees are desirable and are means in the hands of the government to implement justice." (Imām Khomeinī, vol. 2, p. 472).

If we assume that the best example of an appropriate and practical government that has been established on earth is that of the prophet Muḥammad (ṣ), it is because this government was established with the intention of spreading justice and be a government, i.e. it is based on divine justice and the right path. This is a duty which all the Divine prophets and saints have aimed to realize within the limits of their capabilities and possibilities on the basis of the expediencies.

Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) established a government similar to all the governments of the world but with the aim to spreading justice (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 406).

According to Imām Khomeinī, justice is a personal and spiritual trait and is seen in the hearts of the people (Imām Khomeinī, vol. 1, p. issue 28). Therefore, it can be a trait of the rulers and in fact of all those who deal with human beings and are involved with managing their lives:

Allah is just, the prophet of Islam is just and infallible; its Imām is just and infallible; its judge should be just, its jurist should be just its marriage counselor is just the ruler and his subjects must be just (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 304).

As the fundamental and structural trait of existence and consequently, of human organizations, likewise, justice can be considered as a quality and trait of a government body. For this reason, Imām Khomeinī has frequently reiterated the government of justice or a just government and ...

2- Legitimate Islamic government

The broad and initial title that Imām Khomeinī uses for the appropriate government is Islamic government. By that he means a government based on divine and Islamic criteria and rules and whose laws are derived from the holy canon of Islam and are in accordance with the global Islamic and ideology. It is government whose aim is the realization of Islam and its rules are Islamic and its foundations rest on the Islamic global perspective. According to Imām Khomeinī, the Islamic government means that it is created from the heart of Islam, because Islam has a social, political and cultural system of its own. Therefore, Islam without a government is absurd.

Islam ... possesses unique social, economic and cultural system. It has specific laws for all aspects of individual or social life and it does not accept

anything other than this for the happiness of society. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 389).

From this statement of Imām Khomeinī, we conclude that the Imām also has a system of government, because if a religion possesses a unique social, economic and cultural system, then naturally it must also have a system of government. A social system without a political and administrative system is out of the question. Imām Khomeinī has a broader interpretation of the concept of politics. In a teaching session of his classes on politics in the holy city of Najaf, he states:

“What is politics but the relation between the ruler and the nation; the relations between the ruler and other governments; and prevention of existing corruption all these constitute politics (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 227).

If this is politics, then religion in general and Islam in particular are not other than politics. Therefore, Islam is politics and the basis of modern politics is the management of societal affairs because politics generally is a way to lead human beings toward their own prosperity and the interests of society and this is precisely the aim and objective of Islam. Thus, Imām Khomeinī states:

“By God, Islam is totally politics; Islam has been misinterpreted civilized politics has originated from Islam.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 270).

Thus, according to Imām Khomeinī, there is no distinction between politics and religion and consequently between Islam and politics. Islam has a system of government which is called the Islamic government by Imām Khomeinī. Islamic government has been frequently mentioned in his written works such as “*Kitāb al-Bayʿ*” and in a collection of statements made by him such as “*Wilāyat-e Faqīh*” and “*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Nūr*”. For instance, he states:

“... all those things in the hands of the previous evil “*Tāghūt*” government and carried out in this needy country for the benefit of outsiders must be transformed with the establishment of an Islamic government and Islamic republic”. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 460).

Imām Khomeinī has used terms such as divine government, righteous government, religious government, trusted government, Islamic government of justice, legitimate government, etc...in his statements and written works

which all indicate on of the most important criteria that distinguishes value, content and kind of the government from the other types. For this reason, we see that he uses the government of the devil and oppressive governments against the Islamic and divine government. Imām Khomeinī in and introducing his government states:

Islamic government is like none of the existing governments. For instance, it is not despotic with an oppressive ruler in charge ... Islamic government is neither despotic nor totalitarian, but constitutional. Of course it is not constitutional in the current sense of the word, a government dependent on the views of the majority in decision-making; rather, it is institutional in the sense that the rulers in power and who run the country are committed to a set of conditions laid down in the holy Qur'an and in the tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad. The set of conditions as the Islamic decrees and canons which must be observed and implemented. Therefore, Islamic government is government of divine laws reigning over people (Imām Khomeinī: 52-53).

Thus, according to Imām Khomeinī, the Islamic government is the rule of law and law means human rules which are agreed upon and which are identical to divine laws or canonical Islamic decrees stated in the holy Qur'an and in the tradition of the prophet Muḥammad. He delineates this issue by another statement:

Islamic government is the rule of law. In this government, the authority belongs only to God and all the people and the government are under the protection of God's command means or Islamic laws. All individuals, from the prophet Muḥammad to his caliphs and others always have to follow the law which has been revealed by God in the language of the holy Qur'an and the prophet Muḥammad. (Imām Khomeinī: 53-54).

According to Imām Khomeinī, an Islamic government has two main aspects as follows:

1. It corresponds with the votes, views and wishes of the people
2. It corresponds with the will of God and divine laws.

In other words, it is a divine democracy. This statement has come in a nice word from the Imām as follows:

By Islamic government we mean a government that is both wanted by people as well as being a government that is endorsed by the Sublime and

Exalted God... it should be Divine government, it should be the hand of Allah, the government of Allah. We wish to have such a government which does not violate the divine law (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 460).

Perhaps as the Imām believed that there is no distinction between reason and canon, he did not see any disparity between people's views and the will of God. Moreover, he believes that mankind has a divine essence and God's religion is consistent with His disposition. Imām Khomeinī has frequently equated legitimacy with Islamic government. For instance, he acknowledges prophet's Muḥammad government as a legitimate one and introduces his intended government as being identical to that of the Prophet Muḥammad:

The Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) was a follower of law to the letter; he was the manifestation of the Holy Qur'an. We want the rule of law; a government obeying the law, not one obeying Satan (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 461).

It is a general concept for the government to be Islamic. Thus, Imām Khomeinī has put forward many criteria and features concerning this issue whose presence endorses its Islamic nature:

1. Legitimacy of government (consistency with the divine law)
2. The divinity of the government
3. Non-totalitarian nature of the government
4. Constitutionalism in the sense of being committed to a set of conditions
5. Non-despotic nature of government
6. Sovereignty in Islamic rule is exclusively of God.
7. Important of the rulers
8. The aim of the Islamic government is prosperity of mankind (Imām Khomeinī, vol. 4, p. 190)
9. Government as a means for the realization of justice and prosperity

"Thus, the essence of government rule is nothing but a means for men if God which if they are not used for achievement of lofty objectives and or performing virtuous deeds, are worthless ... (Imām Khomeinī: 69-70).

10. Dependence on public opinion
11. Administration of Islamic laws
12. Being inspired by the methods of the prophet and the Infallible Imāms of his holy household

13. The government must not be imposed on the people

14. The equality of all individuals and social classes before the law:

“In the Islamic government all strata of society are equal before the law; No section enjoys a special status in the government. (Imām Khomeinī: vol. 2, p. 28)

15. Realization of freedom, independence, welfare, political development and economic growth and so on.

3. Government of people

Being popular in essence means that government should be established and be created according to people's wishes, views and votes. Thus, it should have popular legitimacy and approval. Also, for its continuation it must be based on people's trust. In terms of its aims, a popular government must be at the disposal of the people and it must put public expediency and service to the people at the top of its agenda. Therefore, democracy is both concerned with the survival of the government as well as its aims, objectives, functions and responsibilities.

People are of utmost importance to Imām Khomeinī. Whatever the Imām has done, even the ultra-legal decisions he made, were all taken within the framework of the covenant between him and the public. His 10-year leadership testifies to the fact and it is endorsed by all those who were well-acquainted with him. People believed that the Imām would not take decisions that were against their interests because they believed he had fused himself with Islam and had sacrificed all of his being for Islam. On the other hand, Imām Khomeinī also knew that the people trusted him that the people loved him. Therefore, on the basis of his spiritual, ethical and religious beliefs he valued this trust so that there was a mutual bond between him and the nation. This issue is axiomatic in the political life of Imām. Imām Khomeinī stressed the role of the people so much so that regarding the programs on TV and the Radio and, he states:

I don't like to see them talking about me every time I turn on the TV or the Radio. We should value the people and give them independence. We ourselves should stay aside and only supervise the good and bad of the affairs. It is not right for us to have everything including the Radio and TV in our hands while those wretched people who are working hard have nothing whereas we who are nobody should have it in our possession. In my opinion this is not correct (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 346).

One of the most important characteristics of an appropriate government according to Imām Khomeinī is public approval for its establishment and perpetuation and which is manifested during a direct or indirect (through the experts elected by the people) election. Likewise, public approval and acceptance in domains of aims, performance and responsibilities of the government is realized through public supervision and enjoining good and forbidding evil.

Therefore, the ties between the leadership and the people in this government are naturally profound, emotional and ideological and this was the secret of success of Imām Khomeinī in being able to establish and organizing a political democratic system.

Furthermore, in this kind of government, in contrast with all the prevalent political systems, after choosing the leader and holding elections, people are not left without any responsibility. It is a duty for them to be present in the management of the Islamic society and participate in shaping the future of the Islamic system.

According to Imām Khomeinī the Islamic government is based on mutual affection and trust between a competent leader and the public.

Leader and leadership in divine religions and Islam is not something valuable per se and God forbid, cause a human being to be overcome with pride and egomania (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 6).

The importance of this matter is such that Imām Khomeinī regards this leadership with the people to be fraternal. "I am a brother of people." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 354).

Imām Khomeinī also underlines the necessity of people's awareness and their participation in the government and their supervision over the government. He regards this attitude of the people toward the government as the key to the safeguarding of security in the society.

People's awareness, participation, supervision and their solidarity with their elected government will ensure security in the society (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 248).

Therefore he assigns the following roles to people:

1- Awareness; 2- Participation; 3- Supervision; 4- Solidarity; 5- Election

Thus, people are the pillars of a government without which the government will collapse: "In other words, a big power without any support cannot stand" (Imām Khomeinī: vol. 7, p. 4-7). Also Imām Khomeinī prefers

to guide the people rather than to lead them in order to help them move ahead on their own and by themselves and to participate in political affairs and be in line with the government. If people are aware of issues they could continue their struggle using their own reason and free will, but without attaining awareness, it won't be possible. We cannot take any right step in the dark, we need a light to see ahead and move on. Therefore, Imām Khomeinī put forward four other roles under awareness.

In general, with regard to the works of the Imām, we can deduce that democracy in his view has three aspects meaning, establishing, preparation and survival within the framework of reliance on popular opinion and public participation; performance and duties in the form of public interest. Here, we focus on the popularity of the government in each of the axis briefly.

a- Establishment, perpetuation and survival; structures the government on the basis of people's views and public participation: according to Imām Khomeinī, government is established on the basis of people's wishes and views. An imposed government is not Islamic and is not desirable:

We don't intend to impose a government on our people. Islam does not allow us to establish dictatorship. We follow the people's opinion. Their votes are highly respected. Neither God nor our prophet has given us the right to impose something on our people." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 34).

On the subject of the most important criteria of his intended government, he states:

First of all, it should rely on people's votes such that all members of the society can take part in electing the authorities (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 436).

For perpetuation and survival also, the government should be based on public participation and people should be able to play a part in managing the society through their representatives. They should supervise the performance of the administrators and they should be able to put forward their criticism and suggestions. For instance, Imām Khomeinī did not attribute the formation of the Revolution Council only to canonical right; rather it involved the vote of confidence of the people as well:

According to the canonical right and the vote of confidence of the majority of the Iranians, and in order to achieve the Islamic goals, a council called

"The Revolution Council" has been formed (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 426).

On the need to perpetuate and continue political participation and consultation with the people, he states:

Indeed, in this government, the administrators should definitely consult with people's representatives and without their approval they cannot take any decisions. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 436).

According to the Imām, politicians must always take into account the people in their decision-making and in the distribution of resources and facilities and in return, people while being present in the political arenas of society and participating in their own destiny, must also supervise the behavior and performance of the administrators and authorities:

If people want to safeguard the Islamic republic, they must be careful that the president or the ministers and the members of the parliament do not deviate and engage in accumulation of wealth and power for the day corruption and deviation appears in the president, in the ministers and in the parliament, the people should be aware that its an indication of failure and thus, they must prevent it. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 23).

b. Functions and duties; serving and providing general public: According to Imām Khomeinī, the most significant duty of desirable government is to serve its own people and strive to satisfy their needs rather than concentrate on securing their own interests. He believed that a government is a means for securing people's needs, providing for their education, guidance, service and realizing justice and leading them to a lasting prosperity. Therefore the administrators are tools and means at the disposal of the society and people and the government is in their trust. He has stressed this issue over and over in his sermons and books as for instance:

(The righteous jurists have a duty to use the administrative system and its organization to administer divine laws and establish a just Islamic system and serve the people. Administration by itself has nothing except suffering and toil for them; but what should they do? They are commissioned to perform their tasks. Jurisprudence is a mission and a performance of duty.

Also he states:

It is better that you call me a servant rather than a leader. Serving people is what matters. Islam has mandated us to serve. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 463).

For this reason, according to Imām Khomeinī, the service the leader offers in his appropriate government is a duty and an obligation; it is a duty which has been assigned to him by Islam as a divine religion. Therefore, the government in Islam is based on performing services to the people.

When Imām Khomeinī is appointed as the head of such a rule, in he says: "I am a brother to the Iranians and I consider myself as their servant and soldier" (Imām Khomeinī: vol. 4, p. 145)

Likewise, in addressing the governing bodies of the Islamic societies, he says: "The cabinet in an Islamic government is at the disposal of the nation; it must serve them." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 463).

Moreover, respecting people's views and wishes is of utmost importance to Imām Khomeinī. He values people's role so much so that in many cases he does not impose his personal views and tries to become aware of people's views and opinions.

Likewise, Imām Khomeinī's political thinking proves that he did not attempt to lead the people toward a certain direction without their readiness in accordance with his personal views; rather, respected public views and demands as far as they did not pose a serious danger to the Revolution and its religious and Islamic values. At the same time, he tried to prepare the people to accept the truth and realities through his declarations and statements.

It could be stated that the only red line of Imām Khomeinī vis-à-vis the people was infringement of Islam and Islamic values which was of utmost importance to him so that in such instances, he would react without hesitation and toleration.

c. Goals; Public interest: One of the most important characteristics of an appropriate government according to Imām Khomeinī is that it should be established based on public interests, it should readily recognize the expediencies and act on them and that it should perpetuate and service on the basis of expediencies. Some prominent jurists say that "The ruler and administration are appointed for the common interests of the people while another statement mentions that":

"The ruler is appointed for the expediencies" according to Sheikh Mofīd. This great jurist says that: It is the duty of the ruler to recognize expediencies and implement them. (*Āzarī* 1/2/1370:2).

Thus, recognizing the political, economic, cultural and military expediencies of the society i.e. the expediency of the Islamic society is a duty of the rulers and the leaders and their decisions in these matters are binding.

For Imām Khomeinī, the expedience of the people and the political system was the top priority and he considered maintaining the political system to be the most important task. He would react to every individual, group, movement or thought that was against the expedience of the people and the system in order to protect the Islamic system and society. It stands to reason that safeguarding the honor and solidarity of the Islamic system that is based on the Islamic canon and the people's votes is the religious duty of each member of the society and the administration for the realization of the interests is a primary commandment of Islam and precedes all secondary commands:

Administration, which is part of the absolute authority of the prophet Muḥammad, is a primary Islamic decree and it precedes all secondary decrees including mandatory prayers, fasting and *Hajj* pilgrimage. The ruler can destroy a mosque or house on the route of a street under construction and return its price to its owner. If necessary, a ruler can close down mosques and the government can annul unilaterally its contracts with the people when a contract is against the expediencies of the country and Islam and it can prevent any, religious or nonreligious affair, which is against Islam. The government can temporally prevent *Hajj* pilgrimage which is an important obligation when it is against the expediencies of the Islamic country. (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 452).

He adds:

"What has been said so far or shall be stated is due to lack of familiarity with absolute Divine religious jurisprudence. What has been rumored that with the ruler's authority that there will be no partial partnership or farm contract and so forth, assuming them to be true, are within the authority of the government and there are some more important issues that I do not wish to mention." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām* vol. 20, p. 452).

Imām Khomeinī has touched upon this subject in reply to a letter by a former president about the powers of an Islamic government.

In general, according to Imām Khomeinī, the interest of Islam and the public is the most important factor in determining the authority and goals of the government. The government can sacrifice anything for the sake of public interest or the expediency of Islam. In our opinion there is no

difference between these two. Therefore the government is allowed to do whatever is necessary for the public interest and sacrifice the interest of the individuals to the common good. The only appropriate government is one in line with the interests of the people.

“With the exception of the Divine Rule, all other rulers are contrary to public interest and are oppressive” (Imām Khomeinī: 186).

The secondary criteria

In concluding this article, we will briefly enumerate some other criteria—secondary criteria—of an appropriate government in Imām Khomeinī's view

1- Knowledge and awareness

One of the most important characteristics and criteria of a government and ruler is erudition and knowledge of Qur'an and divine laws. If our intended ruler is the rule of law, then it must be based on knowledge of law and also an understanding and knowledge of requirements of the period and political conditions of the time: “Since the Islamic government is the rule of the law, the ruler is required to have knowledge of Islamic laws ... (Imām Khomeinī: 58-59).

On the extent of the knowledge that the ruler must possess, he states:

If the ruler does not know the legal issues, he does not deserve to rule position...however, it is not necessary for ranking authorities, border security forces and administration employees to know all Islamic laws and be jurists. It is sufficient for them to know the laws related to their jobs and duties. (Imām Khomeinī: 60-61).

The knowledge required of Islamic rulers has sometimes been called ‘*Fiqh*’ (Knowledge of the Islamic canon) or ‘*ijtihad*’ (knowledge or exegesis of canonical decrees from the four sources).

In principle ‘*ijtihad*’ means the ultimate endeavor effort for grappling with the issues; in ‘*fiqh*’ terminology and it signifies the exegesis of judgment on canonical decrees from the sources (Qur'an, tradition, consensus and reason). Thus the jurists gain this position through the required books on sciences and learnings and by attempts to understand religion.

2- Keeping open the door to 'ijtihād' (religious jurisprudence) in administration rules and commandments

In this view, after the knowledge and awareness of religious texts and traditions (canonical laws), and demands the administrative rules and commandments be recognized according to the requirements of time, place and general canonical teaching. This means that the door to 'ijtihād' is always open in an Islamic government. Such 'ijtihād' is based on knowledge, justice and exigencies.

On the subject of keeping open the door to 'ijtihād' or religious jurisprudence, it is necessary to bear in mind that the requirements of time and place have an impact on the decrees derived from religious jurisprudence 'ijtihād'. In view of the comprehensive and protection of Islam, thus Islamic decrees should be up-to-date and developed in such a way that they could address the current political and social issues. Thus in order to understand the social needs and changes and to confirm the realization teachings with these needs and changes, the door to religious jurisprudence must be kept open so that jurisprudential opinions of Muslim scholars at various times guide the government in better administration of affairs and the government and its duties are recognized within the framework of the demands of time. On this subject, Imām Khomeinī says:

In the Islamic government, the door to 'ijtihād' religious jurisprudence must always be open. The nature of revolution and political system requires the free circulation of jurisprudential views, even if they are in opposition with one another. Nobody has the right or capability to prevent it. However, the important issue is right understanding of government and society to help the Islamic system devise programs for the benefit of the Muslims ... (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 177).

3. Mind and wisdom

According to Imām Khomeinī, mind and wisdom are one of the most outstanding indices and criteria for an appropriate government without which the government is devoid of desirability. This is because the mind and wisdom are the basis of many other criteria such as good policy, good planning, knowledge, decisiveness, time recognition, impeccability of belief and piety.

4- Piety, moral competence and impeccability of belief

The institution of government in general and likewise, the leaders and authorities in particular must have bound beliefs and piety, especially piety in

order to realize the goals and perform their duties. In Islamic ideology, the government is a covenant with God and it does not include the oppressors and sinners and impious individuals.

The ruler should be pious and fair and he should not be tainted with sin. One who wants to pass legal judgments meaning to implement the penal code of Islam, and who takes charge of the treasury and income and expenditure of the state and to whom God has entrusted with the administration of his worthiness, must not be a sinner. "The oppressors don't deserve my covenant" (the Holy Qur'an: *Sūrah al-Baqarah*: 2: 124) "The Almighty God does not give the sinners such an authority. (Imām Khomeinī: 61).

5- Good planning and management

Likewise, one of the conditions and the most important criteria of a qualified government is good planning and management which have been endorsed by Imām Khomeinī. Sometimes, these characteristics are mentioned under the category of mind or knowledge.

6- Openness to criticism and consultation with the people

This is yet another important criterion of an Islamic government according to Imām Khomeinī. A government which shies away from criticism and public supervision is a government that has founded itself on tyranny.

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Constants and Variables in Imām Khomein's Political Philosophy

Husayn Sīmā'ī

Prologue

The Imām's line is the point of consensus of all parties loyal to the Revolution and is the criterion by which political behavior of administrative authorities is evaluated. Individuals and parties sometimes accuse each other of deviation and corruption on the basis of this same criterion. Even so, appropriate effort hasn't been made to understand the prerequisite of such judgment which understands the Imām's perspective. For close to three decades, the Imām had an active presence in theoretical and practical arenas of politics and expressed opinions, or took a stand in relation to the Pahlavī Regime and its performance on important political issues such as administration, people, justice, freedom, the constitution, constitutionality and foreign policies. He has also spoken out about political events such as war, peace, political currents and relations with America, Saudi Arabia, personalities and political trends.

Since the Imām's death, in relation to some of the above subjects a different way has been traversed. For instance, in the foreign aspect of politics, relations with Saudi Arabia—which had served after the massacre of *Hajj* pilgrims in 1987 it was announced that closing our eyes to the massacre was impossible—was established anew and today these relations have been

raised to the highest level. Such occurrences have also been observed in internal politics. On the other hand, Imāms prolific political life contains many changes in styles and methods; and perhaps had he been alive today, we would have seen even more changes. Now, considering this variable and unstable record, how is it feasible to adapt the future to his course? In view of the sorrowful demise of this intellectual, is it possible to turn our back on change and consider his political heritage to be constant?!

It seems that we are plagued by two destructive blights in facing path and words of the Imām, one relativism and the other traditionalism. Which is the way out? What is the middle path? How can we put aside obstinacy and audacity and instead, open the doors to dynamism and moderation? One of the functions of this article is to probe the answers to these questions.

Initially, we shall probe for a few variables in the Imām's thought so that firstly, we constrict the prospect of absolutism, and secondly, deduce the possibility of making modifications in similar issues and finally, by relying on the first step, we attempt to provide the criteria and methods to distinguish constants from variables and identify the path from the method.

In this article, initially, the constants and variables of the Imām's political thought will be divided into two departments of domestic and foreign politics. In each area a few constants and variables will be discussed, and finally we will try to regulate the constants and variables.

Part one: understanding the constants and variables

Defining constant and variable

In this article, by constant, we mean anything which has remained free of change in the Imām Khomeinī's (*r*) thought and behavior. These can be divided into two branches: first, those which have not changed and are logically unalterable due to guidelines that will be discussed later such as the fact that political systems should be Islamic, and second, those which remain unchanged but are logically open to change, such as the Imām's positive or negative views regarding various persons which were certainly a product of the arena of variables.

The meaning of variable is that subject which hasn't remained constant and stable. These variables can be divided into three categories: First are those in which the Imām has obviously changed his opinion. A good example is the Imām's belief that clergymen should keep away from administrative positions and his evident change in belief at the end of 1359 / 1982. Second are those in which the Imām's change in opinion was at least a reasonable and justified probability; and finally, are those which didn't change apparently or otherwise in the time of the Imām but which are logically and by using guidelines that will come later are agreeable to change. The form of political order is of this type.

The range of variables in this article is vast and contains and complements all kinds of changes such as change in an earlier divine ruling, abrogation, stipulation, and perfection. Some factors for these changes also include the development of a new situation, renewed understanding and awareness of things and the influence or imposition of realities on the Imām's thought and other instances.

An important point he notes here is that placing a subject in the category of variable is no license to infringe upon it thoughtlessly because the words are in the area of a great and intelligent philosophy.

A) Domestic politics

1. Constants

Many examples can be given about subjects that haven't changed and logically cannot change. The stability of such issues is so obvious in the Imām's thought that we are exempt from any explanation.

Some of the subjects in this category include the association of religion and politics, Islamic political systems, the fundamental of the guardianship of high religious authorities, the participation of the people in all social and political arenas, and social justice.

2. Variables

2.1 The form of government administration: In the Imām's political thought system, the administration is composed and formed of two components and form is absolutely secondary in the realization of the government's objectives. On this basis, external variable like the current state of affairs, human experience, and people's choice determine the form of government and therefore, a structure that seems superior today may not appear to be superior tomorrow.

In accordance with the prevailing circumstances and needs of our society, the ultimate form of government is determined by the people.¹ The form of government isn't vitally important in the preservation of democracy and safeguarding the human ideals of a nation, even so, some forms are preferable to others.²

The Imām's practical behavior endorses the above theoretical findings, because in the Imām's first confrontation with the Pahlavī Regime, which was at the time of the compilation of the book *Kashf al-Asrār* (in 1949); he criticized the performance of the regime and insisted on reformation and compliance with religion. He not only kept silent vis-à-vis the system of monarchy and had peaceful approach. Generally, the Imām's approach with the government form can be divided into three stages.

2.1.1 Peaceful approach with the monarchy: In this stage, the Imām's plan for organizing an Islamic government was very simple. It was enough that the political system observe religious tenets and the best way to achieve this goal was carrying out the second supplementary provision of the

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 248.

² *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 334.

constitutional law passed in 1945 which stipulated supervision by the clergy of the synchronization of law with religion.

"If sometimes the theologians have opposed a king, they only opposed that particular person because they judged him incompetent to rule the country; as otherwise, there was no objection with a monarchy until to that time and even some prominent theologians were involved in the administrative system of the kings.¹

That it is said that the government should be under the control of theologians doesn't mean that they have to be king, minister, general, or soldier and servant; rather, the theologians must supervise over the legislative and exclusive powers of an Islamic state."²

And again during that same time period, the Imām clearly states that:

Just make one constitutional law practicable (the invalidity of any law that is against religion) so that all the people of the country have a single voice.³

A few years later, after the 15th of Khordād in 1342 (July 1963) incident and after the Imām was freed from prison, he still insisted on putting into effect the legal Constitution and he deemed this a necessity:

"This is our constitution. It's not being carried out. Enforce the constitution. If you do, so then we shall not speak a word."⁴

We will complete our words by putting forward two questions. First, is that of the Imām's call to implement the constitutional condition in monarchy⁵ was complied with, then would his relatively peaceful confrontation have ever turned into a movement to uproot the previous government?

In brief we say that, the answer is negative, because reviewing the Imām's collection of valuable works, it is evident that the Imām's first steps in confronting the regime was through "advice" and "call" to amend its ways. It is obvious that this method is comparable with the constitutionality and isn't compatible with overthrowing a government:

¹ *Kashf al-Asrār*, p. 186-187.

² *Ibid*, p. 232.

³ *Ibid*, p. 224.

⁴ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 288.

⁵ In the Imām's view the monarchy never abided by the constitution: "This country was never known as a constitutional monarchy." (*Kashf al-Asrār*, p. 189).

Giving advice is obligatory; abandoning it may be a great sin. Religious scholars must advise everyone including the king, these Sirs, and all the people of the country.¹

After the regime's obvious retreat from the bill of the Council of States and Provinces and its revocation, the Imām said:

"It is not right to condemn the government ... from today we can continue with our own work. In the past two months, from the time that this issue came up we couldn't do our job well...and if we had seen a devil from outside the country yearning for our state we would be the same, the government would be the same and the people would also be the same."²

The social state of affairs including the society's lack of power and potential, the extent of participation and cooperation of the theological schools, especially the higher echelons such as the religious authorities and its elite scholars, and also the great power and ability of the regime required that there be no talk of an overthrow of the current government and the establishment of a new government to pass.

As for the second question that whether a constitutional monarchy—even with the supervision of the clergy was the Imām's final idea? Again, the answer is negative. By discussing the rationales of religious guardianship during this period (the time of the compilation of *Kashf al-Asrār* in 1328/1949)³ and also some of his clarifications, reveals that the Imām points at idea even higher than constitutional monarchy and the second supplementary provision of the constitutional law (jurisprudential supervision) because according to this doctrine, jurisprudential supervision is passive whereas the Imām's view of supervision was a active and involved power present in all executive, legislative, and judicial institutions.⁴ In any case, the below words clearly shows that the Imām's consent with constitutional monarchy was to create a transition from absolute monarchy and was because of having no alternative, otherwise, the Imām's longstanding wish was religious guardianship. After the Imām presented his

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 121.

² *Ibid*, vol. one, p. 120.

³ *Kashf al-Asrār*, p. 187.

⁴ That it is said that the government should be under the supervision of clergymen doesn't mean that they have to be king, minister, major-general, or even in the military; rather, that they must supervise the legislature and the administration of an Islamic country. (*Kashf al-Asrār*, p. 232).

plan to establish an assembly, which consisted of righteous theologians to choose a just ruler he said:

Yes, if a monarchy were created the way I explained, any wise person would acknowledge that it is good and is in accordance with the good of the country and the people. However, if an organization is founded on basis of Divine law and justice, it is the best of organizations. But now that they won't accept it from the clergy, the prominent theologians will not oppose this pseudo-organization and do not want to destroy the foundations of the government.¹

2.1.2 Rejection of monarchy: This period which apparently goes back to the year 1348/1969 (at the time the Imām gave lessons in religious jurisprudence). The Imām basically condemned the monarchy by declaring it against Islam and the way of the Immaculate Imāms ('a):

These constitutional provisions and their supplements which are about divergence and monarchy and their like, are not from Islam. They are all against Islam. They contradict Islamic government and its commandments. Kingdom and monarchy are the same things that Islam rejects and has overthrown in Iran, Egypt, and Yemen at the beginning of Islam.²

In addition, at the time of the escalation of the Islamic Movement, while presenting critical analysis on the government, the Imām described it as an unreasonable system which is in contradiction with human logic and is clearly invalid:

The monarchy which is an obsolete regime was a mistake from the start, and it is basically wrong even inappropriate to reason.³

Even if a monarchy was practical in its own time, but it is now obsolete. It is also reactionary and backward-looking, so a monarchy was something absurd from right the start. One person, a monarch, rules over a people who have no liberty ... Nowadays, in comparison with world governments, this form of regime is ludicrous.⁴

¹ *Kashf al-Asrār*, p. 185-186.

² The Imām Khomeinī, *Guardianship of the Jurist*, The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 1377/1998), p. 7.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 514.

⁴ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 490.

It is worth mentioning that this stage, the Imām's confrontation with the monarchy was only one of negation and was free the aspects of compulsion. In other words, apart from repudiating the monarchy, no substitute was introduced and the Imām only insisted on the need to establish an Islamic government which is in fact the real essence of government.

Now, it must be asked that if the form of government isn't vitally important and has nothing to do with democracy, then why was the monarchy so strongly rejected and condemned? On the one hand, it was considered to be in contradiction with Islam, while on the other hand, in the year 1357/1978, many speeches were given critically analyzing the system and its repudiation was one of the three goals of this movement. Doesn't all this effort to reject a form of government indicate the idea that he regards different types of governments to be made up of different sets of principles and that these have a prominent role in the realization of a government's aspirations?! A thorough analysis would be beyond the scope of this article. Although, to create rapport between the unimportance of form on one side and extreme effort to repudiate the monarchy regime on the other, it can be said that Islam—which is the Imām's view of the ingredient of government although being flexible and is presentable in various forms yet it is not compatible with every form. In fact, Islam is not unconditional about forms; rather, it accepts some forms and rejects others.

2.1.3 The Declaration of a Republic: After a long interval in which there was no sign of acceptance of an Islamic form of government in the Imām's stance, while he was in Paris he selected the "republic" form over other current forms of government.

Additionally, it's not the legal form of the government that is important ... so one can take into consideration an Islamic republic.¹

Of course, the Imām's ideal republic is distinct from current republics and has elements that are unique. Consequently, as we have said, according to the Imām's solution on the form of government, the form is variable and depends on several factors such as experience and the perfection of human political thinking.

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 3.

2.2 The clergy and the government

In the Imām's view, the clergy's most important responsibilities and performance are "enlightenment", "guidance", and "religious propagation". Therefore, according to the principle of the inseparability of religion and politics, their spirited presence in all political arenas is vitally important. However, and review regarding the "manner of presence" there is a change of judgment in the Imām's opinion which can be divided into two broad categories as follows.

2.2.1 In this phase, which lasted around two decades until the year 1359, the clergy's connection with politics was "supervision" and "guidance". Their religious awareness required that they guard the socio-political borders. On the verge of the victory of the Islamic Revolution when the idea of an Islamic government gained strength in everyone's minds, naturally, foreign journalists presumed that administration of affairs would be carried out by the clergy as they were the official guardians of Islam. Therefore, they kept on asking the Imām about the position of the clergy in the new government and he would always decisively answer that:

"I myself and the rest of the clergy will not occupy any position in the government. The function of the clergy is to enlighten governments."¹

Also, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Imām categorical states that the clergy should avoid occurring positions in the government and emphasized on the aforesaid role:

The clergy has a role. It has a role in the government too. The clergy doesn't want to govern, but it wants to have a role ... the clergy must have a role.²

Finally, his practical actions, such as his appointment of politicians outside the clergy and his objection to a clergy becoming President, also conveyed the idea of the supervisory role of the clergy:

Regarding this issue of the presidency, they presented me with a proposal. Various individuals made their proposals, including people from the universities that now after a time they had finally concluded that they could not trust others and it should be a clergyman. I would say no, the

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 472.

² *Ibid*, vol. 11, p. 463.

clergyman must have a role; he if it was a clergyman that he should run not to become president). They shouldn't become president, but they should have a role in supervision of the presidency...they should supervise.¹

2.2.2 The unpleasant performance of non-clergy political leaders and lessons learned from previously failed movements, such as the Constitutional Movement, caused the Imām to visibly change his approach immediately after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution away from position of "supervision". In this phase, the link between the clergy and the government included "active intervention" in addition to supervision.

Religious scholars must help this Islamic republic. They shouldn't sit idly. Being inactive now is like inactivity at the beginning of the Constitutional Movement and now it is even worse than at that time.²

Yes, when we were in Najaf, I said that the position of religious scholars is higher than that they should enter into executive affairs, but this is true only when there are individuals that are devoted to Islam.³

Before the Revolution, I thought that when the Revolution would become victorious, there would be righteous individuals to do things according to Islam. Therefore, I said many times that the clergy will go and do their own jobs. Then I saw that no, most of the individuals were dishonest and I saw that what I had said was wrong. I then declared categorically that I was wrong.⁴

That was how the Imām accepted a clergyman to stand as a candidate for presidency or for other posts:

It is not in the dignity of religious scholars to hold the office of the presidency or any other administrative post. They do this because it is a duty.⁵

The Imām's call to the clergy to accept administrative posts gradually gained favor such that among the clergy, occupying an administrative post was thought to have divine merit:

Clergymen, religious scholars and seminary students must regard judicial and administrative work as a holy assignment and divine merit.¹

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 464.

² *Ibid*, vol. 15, p. 333.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 13, p. 433.

⁴ *Ibid*, vol. 18, p. 241.

⁵ *Ibid*, vol. 18, p. 241.

Now it should be asked, in what arena have these changes occurred? Did the Imām's ideology change or did his action and methods change?

It seems that in this matter the Imām's philosophy has remained constant and the change was in the Imām's political actions and behavior for the reason that from the available statements one can easily deduce the principle of noninterference can easily be extracted from the Imām's words. In other words, "active supervision" is a rule, whereas "intervention" is an exception and follows need and necessity:

We take back what we said in the interviews and temporarily, until the time that non-clergymen can administer the country, the clergy will return to their guidance and will delegate the administrative system to those people who work for Islam and until this issue is resolved in which we have doubt, it's possible ... it is our duty to stop it as much as we can. Let them say whatever they want; let them call our country 'the country of *Mullās*'.²

It is worth mentioning say that the issue of intervention or supervision by the clergy is other than the issue of religious guardianship which the Imām had emphasized. The proof of this matter is that the Imām said these two things when the government was in power.

2.3 Woman's rights and their status

Women and their civil legal and political rights occupy a special place in the history of the Revolution and in the thinking of its deported leader. The Imām's statements on this issue can be referred back to two major time periods. The first was in the year 1341/1962 in relation to the bill for the elections of assemblies of the States and Provinces and the other was in the year 1357/1978 in answer to the incessant questions of foreign journalists.

The Imām's thought about equality of the rights of men and women and their political and social participation was apparently variable in the stated time periods.

2.3.1 Equality in the rights of men and women: One of the Imām's important subjects in his campaign struggle in the year 1341/1962 resulted from the declaration of the equality of men and women by the Pahlavī

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 21, p. 292.

² *Ibid*, vol. 16, p. 350.

Regime. During this period, this slogan was thought to be in conflict with essential Islamic teachings:

The Star Chamber wants to sanction the equality of men and women; meaning they want to put aside essential Islamic and Qur'anic laws.¹

In contrast, in the year 1357/1978 in answer to the questions of foreign journalists about the position of women in the Islamic government, the Imām endorsed their equality with new and superior role in the government.

Even so, the idea of change in the Imām's thought in this case is nothing more than an illusion because the desperate movement of the Pahlavī Regime in granting the right of divorce and equality in inheritance to women and also the Imām's clarifications on these issues show that rejection of the equality of men and women, their complete equality was meant.

Equality in all areas is equivalent to trampling upon some vital Islamic commandments.²

The claims about their equality from (1979) onwards, were both regard to rights that result from human nature whereas in other stances, he has emphasized on the possibility of differences.

2.3.2 Political participation: The important symbol of political participation is the right to choose and the right to be chosen. In the year 1341/1962, the Imām opposed the ratification of a bill of the Assembly of States and Provinces which gave women the right to vote because he said it was in contradiction with the commandments of Islam:

"The recent act passed by the government which gives women the right to vote doesn't have religious validity and is annulled by the constitution."³

However, in 1357/1978, in the face of the obvious anxiety of foreign journalists about the socio-political place of women in the new government, the Imām enclosed the fact that they are equal with men in determining the political destiny of the country and in respect of other human rights:

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 153.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 209.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 149.

In the Islamic system women have the same rights as men. They have the right to study, the right to work, the right to own, property; the right to elect, the right to be elected.¹

The disparity between the above statements doesn't need an explanation. However, what is the rationale for these disparity? Was there in fact a change in the Imām's thought?

Some believe that giving the right of vote to women, which had appeared in newspaper headlines during the Pahlavī regime, apparently wasn't in contradiction with Islamic law, but the regime wanted to use this issue as a cover for the omission of Islam from the conditions of voters and candidates and allow swearing in by any religious book instead of the holy Qur'an. In addition to strip it included the government of Islam and endorse semi-religious movements created by colonialists. Any kind of position with this act was made to look like opposition ... with women's rights and the legitimate freedom of women.²

Although a confirmation of this point can be found in the Imām's speeches that putting women's rights first in the bill of the Council of States and Provinces was a trick to deviate public opinion from the government's evil schemes such as revoking the condition of Islam as a condition for election and the change of oath-taking with the Qur'an to oath-taking with any holy scripture. It cannot be denied that the objection to participation of women in elections was an issue and was one of the pivotal issues of confrontation with the regime, because with the aforesaid mention of the regime's deceit, the contradiction of the bill with Islamic law was also clarified. Likewise, he has separately and independently criticized the aforesaid issue including a statement that was endorsed by eight other prominent theologians wherein a legal analysis of this subject was made.

Thus, some others in order to make the positions compatible have said that the Imām's objection to women's participation in social activities during the evil monarchy was not because of religious prohibition or similar issues; rather, it was because of the evil goals under the shadow of this presence that was of consideration of the Shāh's regime. At that juncture, the Imām saw the issue of the participation of women as a source for the spread of moral corruption of women and the society.³

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 189.

² *Kawthar*, vol. 1, p. 2-3.

³ Kāzīm Qāḍīzādeh, *the Imām's Political-Jurisprudential Thoughts* (Tehran, Center of Strategic Research of Presidency, 1377/1998), p. 682.

This analysis is corroborated by some of the Imām's other declarations:

The tyrannical system wants to dishonor chaste women and abase the people of Iran by legislative decrees that contradict Islamic law and the constitution.

Thus, it can be said that the Imām believed in giving women the right to vote. However, when working in the political context and considering adverse social conditions, the Imām used this as a pretext to accuse the regime of violation of the constitution which had become an instrument with which to censure the clergy.

2.3.3 Social participation: One of the instances of this sort of participation is being present in the field of work and activity. In 1341/1962 the Imām plainly opposed the employment of women in government offices and institutions:

If women enter an organization, they will unsettle it. Do you want women to secure your independence?

On the other hand, on the verge of the victory of the Islamic Revolution and later, the Imām continually scope of allowing women to work and of the necessity of their participation in other social fields.

In the Islamic system, women have the same rights as men: the right to education, the right to work, the right to own property, the right to vote and the right to be elected.

Women are free in the choice of occupation, vocation and also their clothes as long as they adhere to the criterion.

The differences in the two viewpoints is blatant; however, a justification of the previous article will clarify the issue better because the Imām has without any reservation opposed the corruption and immorality resulting from the employment of women in that tainted system.

You employed women in the offices. Look how all the offices that they entered have been crippled... The people who you are following are walking on thin ground and you are playing around with women?¹

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 153.

Therefore, it can be said that theoretically, within the bounds of Islamic teachings there is no problem with the social participation of women in all arenas and opposition to it in 1341/1962 was because of an external issue and in fact, it was confrontation with unlawful interaction that is forbidden.

2.4 The Constitution

The constitution is a modern phenomenon and is indispensable in a civic society. Civic society is a term which entered the political-legal literature of Iran at the time of the Constitutional Movement. Therefore, in addition to the Islamic Republic's constitution, the Imām had referred to the Conditional monarchy Constitution and has given opinions on both of them.

2.4.1 The Conditional Constitution: This law was passed in the year 1324/1945 with 51 articles. Eventually, 101 supplementary articles were added to it.

The Imām had two different positions on this issue. For a long period—which started at the time of compilation of *Kashf al-Asrār* (1328/1949) and continued until the end of 1356/1977—the Imām referred to this law repeatedly and criticized the regime on this same basis.

For example, the Imām plainly asked the king and the government to enforce the constitution and criticized violations of the constitution including enactment of the bill of the Assembly of states and provinces, censor of the freedom of the press, repudiation of the supervision of the clergy over laws, his exile from Iran, conviction of political prisoners, votes of the legislators of the senate and council, forceful membership in the Resurrection Party, negation of basic freedom and finally the interference of the king and the ruling elite in administration of the country.

This is our constitution ... Implement the constitution. If you do, we shall not say a word.¹

Thus, one of the Imām's basic and long-lasting slogans was enforcing the constitution, but just when the ruling government complied with his call and promised to act on it, he objects strongly.

The slogan of acting upon the constitution, which the king's henchmen in the councils brought up recently, is betrayal of Islam and the country.

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. one, p. 288.

The Imām's change in opinion is devoid of ambiguity. However, can this be taken as a sign of change in the Imām's political thought? Perhaps according to some of the Imām's sayings, it is possible that referring to the constitution was a tactical move aimed at synchronization with the prevalent logic. In other words, he referred to it because it was expedient while, his disavowal of it at the height of the Islamic movement revealed his true conviction, and thus, close the door on the possibility of any change in the Imām's thought.

However, if this rationalization is not acceptable, then it is inevitable that we review the history of the Islamic movement and note the context and time of adapted stances. The truth is that the power of the king's regime within the country and a great deal of foreign support for his government, especially of America, caused the politically aware community to believe that not only changing the political regime but also overthrowing the monarchy was impossible.

Consequently, the slogans and demands of many national and religious personalities and political parties differed greatly from the Imām's slogans. While the Imām wanted the overthrow of the king and the change of the political regime which governed the country, those with opposing views would say in interviews:

"We have extreme desire to establish an Islamic government but taking into account the current state of affairs we aren't ready for such an objective and attaining it may be wishful thinking. Before all else we want the constitution to be put into effect."¹

Someone else said: "The Freedom Movement believes in the constitution. If the king is ready to carry out all the provisions of the constitution we are prepared to accept the monarchy."²

The regime's pillars of support from the senates, to the king's failed cabinets and even the king himself promised the return of the constitution in order to control the crisis which had spread all over the country. As a result, from the Pahlavī Regime to a large spectrum of the opposition, all unanimously wanted the enforcing of the constitution—of course for different reasons.

¹ 'Alī Davānī, *Clerical Movement*, vol. 8, p. 165, Quoted from *Kawthar*, vol. one, p. 370.

² Documents from the Spy Den; Political Factions in Iran, vol. two, p. 203, Quoted from *Kawthar*, vol. 1, p. 408-409.

This slogan necessitated preservation of the monarchy and continuity of the regime. This undesirable consequences made the Imām angry and caused him to repudiate and oppose the constitution. In reaction to the sayings of inside of the regime who feigned opposition with the regime and saw the remedy as being the return to the constitution, the Imām said:

There isn't any difference between the regime's sympathizers and those who with deceit and opportunism feign opposition and cry out in defiance and those who talk of free elections and implementation of the constitution, because all of them are trying to safeguard the king with their satanic words.¹

The Imām also warned rival political parties and personalities that:

The programs and publications of all political parties must be based on Islam and the Islamic government without any reservation; and their first priority should be overthrowing the evil "*Tāghūt*" and its horns and branches which is the Pahlavī Regime in our country. They must also, strictly avoid making any demands which endorse the evil "*Tāghūt*" Pahlavī Regime, such as can be seen in the writings of some factions and the sayings of some persons that the objectives is the framework of the constitution.²

Thus, these two positions should be seen alongside each other. With the continuation of the movement, the Islamic level of the Imām's political demands went up so that while at one time the Imām demanded the implementation of the constitution, at another time he deemed it only acceptable with some review and amendments.

In answer to a journalist who asked if a return to the 1324/1945 Constitution was a valid solution, the Imām answered:

Provided that they are amended, the constitutional articles and their supplements can form the basis of the government which we recommend.³

2.4.2 The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran: This law became official by a referendum conducted in Āzar 1358/December 1979 and became the foundation of public order of the country. Despite some splendid

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 485.

² *Ibid*, vol. 3, p. 323.

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 373.

points, after a very short time, deficiencies of various important parts became evident and ad hoc modifications in specific sections such as bestowing the right to assess needs of the country and act upon them to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, prudent and timely alerting of the Guardians Council of potential problems, and forming the Council of Expediency failed to correct the shortcomings. Finally, confessing "lack of accurate understanding of administrative problems" and the recommendations of "Ten years of objective and practical experience" to "resolve impediments and deficiencies", in Ordībehesht of 1368/May 1989 the order to review the constitution was issued. Now we can clearly see how socio-political truths and human experience impose themselves on thought and compel it to submission and change, to the point where the constitution which is the most stable of legal-political phenomenon undergoes changes in so short a time.

B) Foreign policy

1. Constants

The Imām utilized modern concepts in international law and relations but he did not stop there as he added new ideas to the assortment. Confronting hegemony, seeking glory, and aid for the downtrodden deprived people of the world are some examples of these ideas. Additionally, in the thought process of the Imām as an Islamic philosopher some of those same accepted concepts have a different interpretation, than a non-religious politician's interpretations. Some examples include the principle of nonintervention with the maxim of "expansion of the Revolution" and the dispatch of messages for *Hajj* pilgrims to participate in rallies against polytheism at the time of *Hajj* pilgrims, the observation of the principle of national interest in cutting off relations with Egypt for signing the treaty of Camp David or cutting off relations with Israel due to their oppression of Palestinians. Now after presenting a summary of the Imām's foreign policies we will mention a few constants in the Imām's foreign thought.

1.1 The principle of relations with all countries: Is having relations with all countries a principle or an exception? In other words, does establishing relations require the occurrence of causes and effect or does cutting off relations necessitate the occurrence of special circumstances? According to the Imām's thinking, friendly relations with all countries is desirable on the basis of the former requirements:

The fact that from time to time prejudiced or ignorant people say that we shouldn't have relations is because either they don't understand or they hold grudges, because unless a person is uninformed or opposed with the government he cannot say that a government must isolate itself from the world... A sensible person that takes such issues into account, what then should a wise scholar do? Islam is a social and administrative order and it favors having relations with the whole world. At the beginning of Islam when the Prophet himself sent emissaries abroad, they would not say such things.¹

It goes without saying that the said principle emphasizes nonintervention, mutual respect, and balanced and just relations.

1.2 The principle of neither East nor West: At the time of this slogan with the two blocs of America and the Soviet Union, countries were divided accordingly into eastern and western alliances. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union this division also disintegrated. Therefore, has the time of this slogan come to an end? Expressionist logic demands a positive answer whereas the Imām personally called it eternal:

Seminary and university students must use all their capabilities to defend Islam and the Revolution in their centers. My "*Basij*" (volunteer mobilization) children of these centers must be the guardians of the unalterable principle of "neither East nor West".²

Therefore, you have to pass the outer crust to reach the inner core. The essence of this slogan is in fact the rejection of domination, non-alignment with foreign countries and insistence on political independence. Nevertheless; the prevalent political conditions at the time created a certain atmosphere which created the framework of "neither East nor West":

Our Islamic government will be free and independent...We will neither have a tendency toward the west nor will we be inclined to the east and we desire to have a neutral and non-aligned republic.³

1.3 Combating arrogance: Although the word "*istikbār*" (Arrogance) and its derivatives and the necessity to fight against it come from the Qur'an, yet apparently the Imām introduced it into our political literature for the first

¹ *Shāhīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 413.

² *Shāhīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 195.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 488.

time. Combating arrogance and hegemony and domination is a key concept in the Imām's political thought, although its meaning and circumstances are always amenable to changes.

1.4 Support for the world's weak and deprived: Unlike some short-limited and closed minded people, Imām's political thought is not sectarian or only to his own religious group. It is a though base on the lofty ideals of Shī'ism and revolves around the center of Islam. Therefore, not only Moslems all over the world but all deprived people of the world are included in the Imām's opinion. The Imām relentlessly called on the world's deprived to bring to an end to the injustice being done to them and clarified his full support for them. Open support of the deprived and downtrodden was a constant factor in the Imām's political thought:

Moslems of all nations arise and fight for your rights! Rather, deprived of all nations arise and fight for your rights!¹

We support all oppressed nations and all oppressed nations must throw out all oppressors from the face of the world and eliminate them from history.²

1.5 Cutting off relations with Israel: The position that the Imām adapted vis-à-vis Israel has a long antecedent and throughout this time, he openly displayed his anger, hatred and disgust at the regime that occupied Jerusalem and regarded having relations with them to be impossible. What rationale can such an unwavering position have vis-à-vis a country?

The answer is that Israel lacks even political legitimacy and is a usurper regime, whereas America doesn't have the problem of legitimacy and is criticized only because of its arrogant and brutish nature:

"We will not have relations with Israel because it is a usurper and is at war with Moslems."³

"Israel is a usurper and there can be no relations between Iran and a handful of usurpers."⁴

1.6 Cutting off relations with South Africa: By adopting policy of "Apartheid" racism, the South African government like Israel was confronted

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 7, p. 292.

² *Ibid*, vol. 11, p. 133.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 380.

⁴ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 340.

with the crisis of legitimacy. Therefore, the Imām held that relations with that country was also impossible:

Who is willing to sell oil to a criminal racist country?¹

In answer to a journalist who asked: "Will you continue to have relations with countries that express their repentance after having openly supported the king?" the Imām replied:

Yes, apart from Israel. Israel is an exception along with South Africa and countries that support racism.²

It is evident that at present, establishing the relations with said governments is because of a change in the offending matter and the transfer from racism to equality of the races. Considering the above facts, the notion of deviator from the Imām's course is an illusion.

2. Variables

In this section we can refer to the imposed war of Iraq upon Iran; the adoption of the resolution to stop the war and also Iran's position vis-à-vis Saudi Arabia. We shall discuss in detail this section at another opportunity.

Part two: the differentiation of constants and variables

Thus far only a short list of constants and variables in the Imām's political thought and opinions were presented, although the range of each one is undoubtedly extensive. On the other hand, it is evident that no variable can become constant while logically, some constants can become variable. Therefore, it is appropriate that we pass from the domain of "is" to the domain of "must" and after identifying some existing constants and variables, we try to find some logical guidelines to differentiate them from each other.

A) The separation of political thought from political opinion

A certain writer believes that in order to differentiate constants from variables we must recognize the difference between the Imām's political thought and his political opinions. He says: "That which is important in this debate is that the Imām's political opinions have a basic difference with his

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 340.

² *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 521.

political thought and although it is easy to separate this difference, yet, no one has ever considered doing so. In the event that this separation is not attempted, then not only will we have problems understanding the dimensions of the Imām's political wisdom, but occasionally, because of apparent contradictions, we will become slaves to a kind of insecurity, hesitation and doubt. This is because political thought, slowly consolidates and creates a powerful structure that remains unfailing for centuries whereas political opinions alter in the course of time and sometimes even change 180 degrees."¹

Based on the premise, the writer logically concludes that:

Deviation from the Imām's course, which some accuse others of, is when the deviation is from the Imām's political philosophies and not when it occurs in the domain of his political opinions.²

This researcher also defined the frontiers of political opinions and political thought by defining and enumerating the characteristics of each of them.

B) The separation of ends from means

Although the separation of political thought from political opinion in order to differentiate constants from variables is an acceptable criterion, yet, it also has its shortcomings because, in addition to the strong possibility of lateral and complementary changes such as objective and doctrinal ones in thinking, there is also the possibility of negative and affirmative changes.

Therefore, we have to search for a better instrument with which we can separate constants from variables. To do this it seems that we must first divide constants in the Imām's philosophy into religious constants and theoretical constants. Religious constants are those which are unchangeable according to religious principles such as the need for the system of government to be Islamic.

However, theoretical constants are those which are regarded constant on the basis of experience, over time and type of perception and analysis of realities, and social interests, such as the principle of having relations with all countries. Accordingly, in order to assess the level of constancy and the possibility of change in these thoughts, we must use a criterion which we call "The separation of ends from means" or "The separation of values from

¹ Dr. Sayyid 'Alī Qādirī, *the Imām in Five Domains of Political Wisdom*, *Huḍūr Magazine*, No. 18, p. 97.

² *Ibid*, No. 18, p. 104-105.

methods.” For instance, the sovereignty of Islam is a value, but the manner of its realization is a method. Additionally, social justice is an end, but the people’s economic participation is a means that leads to this end although sometimes that end does not come to pass (like during wartime conditions). Therefore, separating ends from means or values from methods is a better criterion with which to separate constants and variables. Furthermore, all values are not of the same degree, thus when they are at conflict more than other criterion must also be used.

In the end, we hope that this article opens new doors for the entry of thinkers of this guiding discussion.

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The Union of Domestic and Foreign Politics in Imām Khomeinī's Thought

Dr. Muḥammad-Riḍā Dehshīrī

Preface

As the architect and theoreticians of the Islamic Revolution, Imām Khomeinī is viewed as the mentor and guide of the path of the Islamic government in the two foreign and domestic domains. As the founder of an order which is based on the people's supportive role of the government, the Imām believed in the dynamic quality of foreign policies and he laid emphasis on progress in this issue because he saw domestic and foreign policies as a course to attain his reformist goals. In other words, while indicating the multiplicity of methods and the unity of values, the Imām stressed the theory of unity in spite of multiplicity. What this means is that he believed that fusion of domestic and foreign policies would lead to the ascendancy of Islam in the world. Therefore, in the Imām's thinking, the union of domestic and foreign policies to as a two-sided relationship between two dependant variables in the face of the independent variable finds meaning in propagation and revival of the revitalizing Islamic doctrine all over the world. The influence of micro and median levels of analysis on each other (the effect of domestic policies on foreign relationships and the influence of the relations between Moslem countries on domestic policies) finds its bearings at the macro level in the correction of the structure and function of the international order. In the same way, that adjustment and

adaptation of the psychological environment meaning perception and understanding, with the tangible-physical environment in order to learn Islamic values draws attention to human-spiritual values on two levels of domestic and foreign policies. In fact, in Imām Khomeinī's philosophy, foreign policy (not meaning the foreign policies of the Islamic Republic with other countries; rather, policies of all Islamic governments with countries existing within inside the borders of the Islamic order) which, as a medium between domestic policy and international policy, is influenced and influences of them both. However, diplomatic solutions at the median level are based on the principles of potential and progression. This means that the stages of reaching a goal are established on the basis of capability. These different stages can be recognized in political, economic, military, cultural, legal, and communo-propagatory areas which we will explain subsequently on the basis of inspiration drawn from the Imām's statements.

A) The political aspect of the union of domestic and foreign policies

In the political aspect, Imām Khomeinī believed that the realization of an Islamic government depended upon the active presence of the people on the scene and their participation in elections which results in upgrading of intra-national relations, because a government that relies on the support of the nation wants to have relations with other nations or governments that rely on the backing of their respective nations. In this respect, Moslem and oppressed nations which have greater resemblance and compatibility with Iranian people have priority. This principles result in the adoption of a global policy based on the axis of administration of oppressed Moslems over the entire world. This would cause the hegemonic system—which is based on the domination by arrogant powers especially imperialist America, its Zionist supporter Israel, and also the social-imperialist Soviet Union—to undergo a fundamental transformation. It would also foil the world oppressors and conspirators schemes, and stop the interference of great powers in domestic issues of deprived nations. Furthermore, it would create a world order without the domination of interfering powers and heathens. In its own way the realization of this important matter on the global level will result in an increase in the relations between non-hegemonic nations, the elevation of cooperation levels, peaceful coexistence between Islamic and third world countries and also bring about the expansion of a participatory system—with the goal of mutual survival—based on national unity. Therefore, Imām's thought in the particular aspect is based on the mutual connection and confluence of domestic and international policies.

Regarding the influence of domestic policy on foreign policy, Imām Khomeinī with the affirmation of the fact that the Islamic system of Iran depends upon the peoples votes, regards the realization of a revolution based on the presence of various strata of the people as a successful model for other nations and oppressed peoples believing that "The bigger the task, the bigger the enemy." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 54)

The Imām states: "The victory of Iran's Moslem nation is without a doubt a good example for the rest of the oppressed nations of the world to follow especially by the nations of the Middle East." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 333). "As long as the nation supports the legislature, government, and the armed forces ... no power has the capability to hurt this holy order." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 391)

The Imām believed that the realization of a just and participative order in the domestic arena not only would influence the fight against oppression at the median level but also affect the attainment of the Islamic ideals of fighting oppression and desire for justice at the global level.

"It is the presence in the arena, of you beloved Moslem people that neutralizes the conspiracies of the world's oppressors and conspirators." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 473).

"Not only must we become independent, but we must also help the whole world to become independent." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 114)

Likewise, foreign policies based on strengthening unity and relations with Islamic nations at the median level influences the realization of a just order at the global level. The Imām states:

"If the Moslems of the world awaken and, with God's help, unite in an alliance of faith, then no power can threaten them." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 293).

"Our program is Islam's program; It is the unity of expression of all Moslems, it is unity of all Islamic nations; it is the brotherhood of all Islamic factions all over the world and the confederation of all Islamic governments of the world against Zionism, against Israel, and against imperialist governments." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 336)

"If Moslem nations, which have a population of around one billion, unite with each other, then neither the East nor the west can harm them in any way." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 134).

On the other hand, on the effect of international policy on regional foreign policy, Imām Khomeinī declared that the realization of an order free of the domination of hegemonic powers shall cause the collapse of the

foundation of hegemonic and racist orders like Israel under the regional Middle Eastern system:

"Today is not a day in which people depend on bayonets; the world has changed ... One after another the nations are awakening." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 335).

"I have persistently asked the Moslems of the world to unite and fight against their enemies including Israel." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 374).

The Imām also believed that the increase in unity among Islamic nations and an improvement in the relations among oppressed nations of the region would result in the perpetuation and stability of the Islamic world order. In other words, talk of development in foreign policies creates the groundwork for the realization of dialogue regarding safeguard of domestic policies. Therefore, in the Imām's opinion, confining the Revolution internally and not spreading it to other Islamic and oppressed countries is the prelude to its decline. Thus, only by improvement in international relations can the Islamic Republic of Iran be safe and secure:

"If we stay in a closed area we will certainly be faced with defeat." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 202)

"By history's own testimony, no power can extinguish the fire rasing in the hearts of an oppressed nation that has risen in revolt in order to attain freedom and independence." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 155)

B) The economic aspect of the union of domestic and foreign policies

In the economic aspect, Imām Khomeinī viewed the realization of self-sufficiency and domestic development to result in adopting foreign policies based on dignity and ultimately in the introduction of an Islamic order as a role model and economic pole for oppressed nations. On the macro scale, the Imām regarded it as the prelude to struggle against marauding powers and the negation of plundering hegemonic powers. On the other hand, the Imām viewed the international policy based on rejection of interference of expansionist and oil-consuming powers in the internal affairs of oppressed nations to result in economic development of Third World and ultimately in economics and commerce in Iran. Thus, the Imām endorsed the two-sided relationships in domestic, foreign, and international policies.

On the influence of the domestic policy of economic self-sufficiency on the foreign policy of "constructive self-sufficiency" based on liberation from domination of superpowers, the Imām states:

"Self-sufficiency in agriculture is a prerequisite to independence and self-sufficiency in other areas." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 158).

"This change must be made in our nation that it must feel ask America to give wheat or give us advisors. Our nation must handle its own business; it must rise and resolve its needs itself...All the people of the nation must aim for self-sufficiency and independence." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 443).

Likewise, regarding the influence of domestic economic policies on international policies, Imām Khomeinī, viewed the main purpose as the negation of the sovereignty of hegemonic powers over disadvantaged nations. He believed that in the event that the awakening realized in the Islamic order of Iran would permeate other countries, an order free of economic domination and foreign exploitation of the resources of Islamic nations would be realized.

"We want what has happened in Iran and the awakening that has happened in Iran...We want this to happen in all nations and all governments. This is our aspiration and the meaning of the spreading of our Revolution is that all nations awaken and all governments awaken and liberate themselves from these sufferings and from this domination which they are under and from the fact that as their resources are being wasted away while they themselves are living in poverty." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 281).

Likewise, the Imām saw the influence of independent foreign policy in the sphere, on macro-level systemic solutions to result in elimination of the hegemony of global plunderers on the international arena. The Imām also believed that in the event that oppressed nations were to take their destinies into their own hands and gain control over their own resources and underground stores they would not become prey to the world's wolves:

"Today, even if we have real political wisdom and pay attention to political issues, still we should all join hands, so we can move forward and progress. Just because we are considered prey to all the wolves in the world, we shouldn't also give them an opportunity to hurt us down. With reason, and with wisdom, and with pen, and with words, and with everything, we must unite with each other." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 177).

On the other hand, regarding the influence of international politics on foreign policies, the Imām believed that by putting an end to the domination of global plunderers of the international order, the Islamic nations would finally achieve their right to choose their own destinies and states:

"It will be an auspicious day for us when the hegemony of world powers over our oppressed nation and other oppressed nations is broken, and all nations are able to choose their own destiny." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 226).

"Our happiness will be complete on the day that the hegemony of all imperialists of the East and the West, especially the global plunderer America, is severed from all Moslems." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 191).

Likewise, regarding the influence of foreign policy on domestic policy, the Imām considered the control of great powers over the natural resources of weak countries as the cause of the dissipation of their resources and considered the economic blockade of third world countries by hegemonic powers as resulting in the realization of the potentials of the local manpower and the fulfillment of their God given potentials and bounties.

"Is the hegemony of America over us anything other than to gain control over the resources that we have, the reserves that we have, the underground wealth that we have, and on the ground resources that we have in order that they can take them away?" (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 300).

"When an economic blockade happens, all the people realize that we must become self-sufficient." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 104).

"This same cutting off robbery of a nation's wealth by itself causes...a nation to become self-sufficient, to be able to manage its own resources." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 84).

"If they impose an economic blockade on us, we will become more active; the blockade is in our interest." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 505)

"Today, because of the economic blockade, the intellectuals of our great nation have put their minds to work and have largely eliminated existing deficiencies and have significantly made up for the damage done by the blockade with their round-the-clock efforts." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 251).

"Even under war conditions and economic blockade we were able to create so much skills, inventions and progress." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 96).

C) The military aspect of the union of domestic and foreign policies

Imām Khomeinī believed that the general mobilization of domestic forces on the principles of martyrdom and self-sacrifice resulted in the enhancement of national morale and improvement of Iran's powerful position in the Islamic world. In addition, that this fact created dread and terror in the hearts of global enemies. He also believed that with the might of the oppressed all over the world, the power of confrontation of Moslem and revolutionary forces would be raised at the median level. This course of action would cause an increase in the efficiency of the strategy of popular mass deterrence the masses and ultimately result in the perpetuation of the Islamic state and the invincibility of its national security.

Regarding the influence of domestic policy on foreign policy, the Imām pointed out that the participation of twenty million soldiers in the armed forces in the course of the Sacred Defense was an important factor in extermination of the evil of transgressors, and he states:

"We hope that with the active participation of the various self-sacrificing strata of the society and the zeal which can be seen in our beloved youth, and with the blessing of Islam, the twenty-million army of volunteers, which is the protector of the Islamic Republic and our beloved country from the evil of transgressors, becomes a reality." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 387).

"As long as you awakened youth and the rest of the classes of the great nation participate with this passion and zeal, no harm will come to the country." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 387).

"If the entrancing call of the volunteer Basījī thought reverberates in a country, the avaricious of the enemy and global plunderers would be drawn away from it." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 195).

"They (the enemy) can't fight with a country that with courage and commitment to Islam and a smile on its face walks towards death." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 15).

Also, regarding the influence of foreign policy on international policies, the Imām deemed the mobilization of all Moslem forces of the Islamic world as a factor for creation of fear and terror in the hearts of hegemonic powers on the macro level.

"If Moslems become equipped with this weapon (the weapon of faith) they terrify their opposition." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 241).

"Criminal world powers ... The great danger of the spread of the Revolution and the rays of justice throughout the world of Islam, and rather, in the world of the oppressed, has terrified them." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 238).

"If Moslems unite, none of the world powers will have the strength to commit aggression against them." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 444).

Regarding the influence of international policies on foreign policy, Imām Khomeinī saw the confrontation of all Islamic and revolutionary forces against seditious and aggressor powers to be the casual of success of the policies for independence of Islamic nations and states:

"Today is not a day in which people rely on bayonets, the world has changed... nations are awakening one after the other and are freeing themselves from under the subjugation of imperialists." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 335).

"The Qur'an says: It invites all of mankind to combat sedition (against Islam). In other words, fight, until the elimination of sedition in the world." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 113).

Regarding the influence of foreign policy on domestic policy, the Imām regarded the conspiracies of the big powers and the necessity to counter them as being the factor in the realization of the general mobilization of domestic forces and stated that:

"You must never ... Iran must never be afraid of an economic or military blockade." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 243)

"We are defending, and when defending mobilized "*Basīj*" mobilization must be general." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 239)

D) The cultural aspect of the union of domestic and foreign policies

Imām Khomeinī believed that the raising the level of culture of spirituality and faith in other words, the purification of the soul brings about improvement in external behavior and the spread of human and Islamic values in oppressed and Islamic nations. In this regard, forming bases to spread Islam brings about universality of the call and the spreading of the cultural message of the Revolution in the world. On the other hand, the universality of spiritual values in the world results in the enhancement of international status and power of Islamic nations. The spiritual unity of these countries would enhance the sublime status of ethics and spirituality in Islamic nations. With inspiration from the Imām's words, what he means by

culture is thought and way of thinking based upon ethics, spirituality, and education, which is manifest in domestic, foreign, and international dimensions.

Regarding the influence of domestic policy on foreign policy, the Imām stressed reforming the inner self to create external change and with emphasis on the necessity for practical invitation (to Islam), opined that:

“You must act in such a way that you invite these large populations to Islam in a practical way. Your actions, your behavior, your deeds should be an example of the Islamic Republic so that God willing, the Islamic Republic accompanies you to other places as well.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 81).

“However, we must start with ourselves. If we reform ourselves, then certainly the goal that we have will spread all over the world—which it has.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 533).

“If you educate the people with a healthy education and call upon the people to acquaint themselves with God, to acquaint themselves with theological wisdom, to familiarize themselves with the Qur’an, in this case your country will remain healthy and this sound healthy will permeate other places as well.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 357).

“Propagation is when Islam, the facts of Islam, Islamic ethics, and human morality grow in these places...then gradually, this Revolution will also spread beyond the country.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 488)

“Universities must become self-sufficient so that they do not heed western knowledge.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 8).

Likewise, while asserting the fact that the Islamic Revolution is a global revolution of the oppressed, the Imām greatly emphasized the bond between foreign and international policies and stated:

“Our movement is an Islamic one before it is Iranian. It is the movement of the oppressed throughout the world before belonging to a specific region.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 110).

“We want nothing more than the application of Islamic laws in the world.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 321).

“I hope that these divine and Islamic motives are realized in all parts of the world.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 25, p. 161).

“We hope that a deep-rooted general revolution occurs throughout the world against the anti-mankind global plunderers.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 125).

"The substance of this Revolution is Islam, Islamic ethics, human ethics, and human education based on the criteria of humanity." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 54).

"We must try our best to make people see that we can stand on our own feet; that we can defend our culture and national honor against the East and West and that we can defeat the materialist world and raise the flag of *There is no god save Allah and Muḥammad (ṣ) is His Prophet* all over the world." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 343).

With regard to this connection between foreign policy vis-à-vis Islamic countries and international policies that calls upon Moslems to self-awareness and unity in faith in order to confront the menace of great powers:

"If the Moslems of the world awaken, and with Gods help create an alliance in faith, then no power can threaten them." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 293).

Therefore, the Imām stresses on the rejection of foreign cultural domination and on the propagation of the rich culture of Islam:

"I hope that at the start of this new century, the Moslems of the world correctly review their problems and the roots of their problems and with total unity and confidence in Islam, under its glorious flag, free themselves from the shackles of colonialists." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 395).

"Only with sacrifice, endurance, and unity of Islamic governments can we become free of the evil of this sinister colonialist nightmare." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 2).

The Imām laid emphasis on the unity of the world's Islamic countries for the attainment of lofty Islamic objectives and the prosperity and happiness of Moslems all over the world.

"It is hoped that all the Islamic nations of the world, with unity, solidarity and solving of differences, recover their lost glory and liberate themselves from the domination of the enemies of Islam, especially the criminal, America." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 232).

On the other hand, Imām Khomeinī emphasized the influence of international policies on the foreign policies of Islamic nations and he believed that international Islamic societies and associations can play an important role in attaining the Islamic objective of justice in Moslem states:

"In this holy congregation (*Hajj*), the peoples of all countries should report the problems of their respective nations to the Moslems of the world." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 324).

"It is necessary to establish Islamic centers that introduce Islam and propagate the redeeming truths of Islam in all possible regions of the world and for them to work under a structured organization to spread justice and cut off the Rounds of the oppressors and marauders." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 324).

"Praise the Lord, we are victorious everywhere and God willing, the promise of good things in (this world and the next—we are victorious whether we live or die) is ours." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 322).

However, concerning the influence at the median level meaning foreign policy at the micro level meaning domestic policies, the Imām held to the belief that on the one hand the unity of Moslems on moral and ethical issues causes the spread of moral values in their nations while, on the other hand, the rejection of foreign cultural hegemony results in the realization of the culture of independence in societies targeted by the colonialists.

"The goal of colonialists, which is above all their other goals, is to attack the culture of the societies under their domination." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 243).

"The great Islamic barrier facing aliens can be broken by weak and mercenary people who pave the way for the marauding and plundering by foreigners. The indifference of the heads of Islamic nations and their disunity causes the daily increase in the hegemony of colonialists over the sanctities and destinies of Moslems." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 254).

E) The communicative-propagation aspect of the union of domestic and foreign policies

While acknowledging the importance of publicity inside the country by the clergy, the Imām emphasized the significance of creating broadcast stations inside the country that could disseminate information abroad. He saw the strengthening of centers of propagation with the objective of spreading Islam in Moslem countries as a basis for the breaking of the monopoly of the propaganda machinery of the big powers. On the other hand, he regarded the lack of concentration of the power of propaganda in the hands of arrogant powers to result in the presence of Moslems in decision-making centers of the world and consolidation of the man communication centers. Pan-Islamic propagation in foreign spheres paves the way for the advancement of the role and position of the Shiite clergy inside Islamic states and especially Iran and

in this way a mutual link is formed between the micro, median, and macro levels in the propagation arena.

With regard to the influence of domestic policy on foreign policy, the Imām believed that the reformation in the method of domestic propagation was an important factor in correctly introducing Islam to the world. The Imām also believed that the role of publicity was more educational and informative than promotional. In other words, the object is more to convey the message of the Islamic Revolution to the world so that they accept Islam through their own conviction and agreement with it.

“With correct propagation we must introduce Islam to the world per se. When nations understand Islam they will certainly accept it.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 321).

“It is hoped...that you become successful in proliferation of Islamic propagation and the spiritual communication of the Islamic Revolution to the world.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 164).

“The spreading of the Revolution isn't by means of military operations; rather, we want to convey our message to the world. One of the centers for this is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which must communicate the problems of Iran and Islam and problems that Iran faces from the east and west to the world.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 414).

Likewise, concerning the influence of foreign policy on international policy, Imām Khomeinī believed that the correct propagation of beliefs and the precise explanation of the position of the Islamic Revolution was an important factor in spreading Islam all over the world and he would say:

“The expansion of Islam lies in Islamic ethics, Islamic conduct, and Islamic deeds, being performed in such a way that people notice them and an important concern here is having a publication in all embassies...an ethical-Islamic publication, in which things that have happened in Iran are written about...in all embassies that you have ... spend money on propagation.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 486).

“With correct propagation we must introduce Islam to the world per se. When nations understand Islam, they will certainly accept it and we want nothing more than the application of Islamic laws in the world.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 321).

“It is necessary to establish Islamic centers that introduce Islam and propagate the redeeming truths of Islam in all possible regions of the world and for them to work under a structured organization to spread justice and cut off the hands of oppressors and marauders.” (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 324).

"My esteemed people! Make a resolution to break the chains of bondage and drive out treacherous agents from the scene one after another and cut off the hands of their profit seeking masters from Islamic countries. With unity of the forces of propagation, destroy the barricades, break through the enemy lines and attain happiness." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 511).

On the other hand, with regard to the influence of foreign policy and international policies, on domestic policy, the Imām held the belief that global public opinion could play an important role in neutralizing foreign propaganda and enhancing the influence of Islamic propagation in the world:

"They are all seeking to defeat the Islamic movement lest it is rightly established in Iran and in the process serves their hands until eternity and lest it transmits to other places and regions from Iran and thereby cut off the hands of the big powers from the globe." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 509).

"And advise Mr. Carter...to behave in a humanitarian manner with countries that want to have complete independence and do not want be dependant on any power in the world." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 237. In answer to Pope John Paul the second).

"They are groveling from fear lest this Revolution spreads to other places. I hope that nations awaken and heed the fact that all this propaganda is to suffocate Islam right here and to prevent the implementation of Islam the way it is meant to be—meaning with neither eastern nor western interference—in other places." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 148).

F) The legal aspect of the union of domestic and foreign policies

While allowing for an unbreakable bond between ethics and rights, Imām Khomeinī emphasized the necessity to observe human and traditional criteria in contracts, transactions, and international treaties. While stressing natural human tendencies in the legislation of domestic and foreign laws, the Imām saw the adherence to laws and the equitable distribution of rights inside the country as the main factor for observance of laws based upon human nature and equilibrium in rights of nations on the international arena such that while institutionalizing the equality of government-people rights, their national sovereignty is recognized by other governments. Of course, in acceptance of international contracts Imām Khomeinī believed in the right of stipulation which means that only if it were in the interests of the Islamic order, the Islamic government would adhere to the contracts previously signed by the deposed Pahlavī regime because the said contracts were signed reluctantly under coercion and not out of necessity. Therefore, taking into account the

fundamentals changes in the international state of affairs, the acceptance of previous contracts depended on the conformity of these contracts with the interests of the Islamic order and the observance of the rights of Islamic nations by other governments. Of course, regarding the observance of diplomatic rights and provisions by the Islamic government, using the principle of necessity according to which you make people to confirm to certain obligations for which they have acknowledged and recognized. It obligates other countries to conform to certain international rights and criterion, Imām Khomeinī considered the acceptance of these contracts permissible. Thus, in case of observance of the legal balance between nations at the median level, principles of equality and mutual respect in a world of peaceful coexistence. On the other hand, in one at the macro level, anarchy and chaos is eliminated internationally, and rights of oppressed nations are not trampled upon by bullying superpowers, then we shall witness observance of the rights of Moslem states and oppressed nations at the international level and the realization of regional goals by them. Consequently, this issue in turn brings about the sovereignty of the rights of the self-governing Islamic society.

Thus, an unbreakable two-way relationship can be perceived between micro, median, and macro levels. The relative situation of foreign policy in Imām Khomeinī's thought can be scrutinized using his opinions on rights. On the one hand, in comparison with international policies, foreign policy can be considered as a form of domestic policy which are between Islamic and oppressed nations and is realized by the reformation of kindred nations. On the other hand, in comparison with domestic policy, foreign policy is considered external policy which has active mutual relations with domestic policy. Hence, using the Imām's words, we can more closely examine and analyze this two-way connection.

In relation with the influence of domestic policy on foreign policy, Imām Khomeinī believed that the execution of laws and regulations inside the country brought about the end of the dominance of outsiders. He also asserted that acting upon the legal criteria inside the country resulted in the orientation of mankind toward this judicial model with observance of the principle of hierarchy because a healthy nature exists in all mankind and this fact leads to the tendency of other nations towards Islamic principles at the median level. Of course, in this relationship, justice in transactions and observance of the right of the Islamic nations to decide, are among instances that influence the foreign policies of Iran.

"If the Islamic Republic is established, and the law becomes Islamic law, then there will be no way out for those 'masters'...they don't know what the power of Islam is; they can't know what the power of a nation is." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 440)

"Act in a way that with these same actions your Revolution spreads gradually in the country in which you are. Ethical issues are issues that when people are bound by them and go after them, they spread to other people according to their nature, their intrinsic nature is pure." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 485).

"One of the crimes of the Shāh was that he signed contracts which were against the interests of our people and our country. For us all contracts that are against our people's interests are of no value. Of course, if a contract is fair and benefits us, we will approve it." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 149).

"It is within the framework of a just deal that oil and natural gas will be supplied to buyers....We will certainly have full relations with the industrial world, but the right to choose the course of our economy is ours." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 157).

"Iran has proved that it will resist the crimes of the superpowers. Our people resisted that criminal regime." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 8, p. 48).

As for the influence of foreign policy on international policy or the effect of the median level on the macro level, Imām Khomeinī believed that Islamic nations have to defend their rights so they can earn their rightful place on the international level because rights aren't just given for free, they have to be insisted upon. If Islamic nations are unified within the framework of multilateral institutions, their position can be promoted at the global level and in this regard, the Imām envisioned a significant position for Iran.

"At the brink of the fifteenth century of Hijra, Moslems must rise and defend their rights under the divine Islamic flag and cut short the hands of evildoers, especially superpowers of the East and the West." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 136).

"They don't know and they don't see that the Revolution has spread or is about to spread and with the grace of God, in the not so distant future, the flag of Islam will flutter in Islamic nations—by oppressed people thirsty for Islamic justice all over the world." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 331).

As for the effect of the macro level on the median level or the influence of international policies on foreign policy, Imām Khomeinī believed that if judicial principles based on equality were practiced among all countries and the law of the jungle were to give up its place to Islamic and humane laws all over the globe, and just laws were to supersede laws based on the interests of

great powers, then Moslems and oppressed nations would live in a world where their rights are assured in peaceful coexistence with all other nations. Therefore, he believed that legal principles governing the international order must change to fair and just principles based on individual rights of human beings.

"We live in an era in which the fate of oppressed nations is in the hands of a handful of villains in whom a beastly nature is predominant. In our era and similar eras, the world has been afflicted with governments in which only the law of the jungle presides. We live in an era in which criminals are praised and endorsed; we exist in an era in which the so called human rights organizations guard the tyrannical interests of super criminals and defend their oppression and the oppression of their allies." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 500).

Thus, the Imām regards only those international contracts as being valid that do not lead to an unjust relationship and one-sided domination of the big powers and also does not permit interference of foreigners does not permit interference of foreigners in the domestic affairs of oppressed nations. In other words, he authorizes only those contracts, which assure equal rights for all nations.

"Do international contracts requires sending spies to a country in the name of ambassador and in the name of the Charge D'affaires? Or uot ... whereas what Carter did was against international conventions because a convict in a country should be tried in that same country and other countries don't have the right to shelter that convict. It is against international conventions. It is Carter that has acted against international conventions and not us." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 85).

As for the influence of the median level on the micro level or the effect of foreign policy on domestic policy, Imām Khomeinī believed that if foreigners would adhere to decency and accord respect while dealing with Islamic states, it would lead to observance of respect all other nations. He also indicated that non-interference of foreigners in domestic affairs of Iran would necessitate Iran's respectful relationship with them:

"We will act respectfully with all governments that do not interfere in our domestic affairs and have mutual respect for us." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 182).

"We will maintain mutual respect with any country that respects us, and if countries and governments want to force us into something, we won't let them. Neither will we oppress others, nor will we allow ourselves to be oppressed by others." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 338).

Conclusion

Deducing from what has been said, a mutual bond between domestic policy (labeled the micro level), foreign policies (labeled the median level)—using the Imām's descriptive name "policies of Islamic countries"—and international policies (labeled the macro level)—using Imām Khomeinī's belief in reformation of the foundation of the structure and the function of the international order—can be seen. First, in the short term, the micro variable was chosen as the independent variable and the other two were considered dependant variables. Next, at the medium-term, the median variable was chosen as the independent variable while foreign and international policies were considered dependant variables and finally in the long term the first two variables were considered dependant and the last variable, meaning the macro level, was chosen as the independent variable. Therefore, foreign policy which is that same policy of Moslem and oppressed countries vis-à-vis foreigners, is regarded as taking inspiration and influence from policy of the nation of Islam. It is an intermediary stage which is compassion with domestic policy is regarded an external policy. Although they concern the policies of the Islamic government with countries outside these borders, this doesn't mean that these countries are foreigners. Thus, in Imām's thought foreign policies are considered external policies. Bearing this in mind, in contrast, foreign policy as opposed to international policies is considered internal policy between associated countries meaning Moslem countries and oppressed nations. The goal of these policies is to bring about a fundamental change in the global order based upon Islamic and humane values and principles. Therefore, the foreign policy is a relative subject category. In the face of the macro level or international policies, they are considered to be on a micro level. Consequently, in Imām Khomeinī's thought, foreign policy can be recognized at the micro-macro or median level.

By scrutinizing Imām Khomeinī's thought concerning the connection of these three categories in the aspects of politics, economy, military, culture, communication, propagation and rights we can come to the conclusion that there is a consistent connection between these categories. In other words, the reformation of the internal structures leads to the tendency of other Moslem and oppressed countries to lean towards Iran's ethical-spiritual-humane policies. In addition, reformation at the median level results in influence on

the structure and function of the international order such that big powers cannot succeed in imposing a hegemonic order on oppressed nations and are not able to impose their plundering and oppressive policies on countries seeking independence even through international organizations. If fair and just human values are realized globally, the position of weakened countries will be improved which will lead to the growth and development of diplomatic, military, legal, rights, cultural, and promotional policies of the Islamic government. Thus, an unbreakable bond would be created between ideological axis of preservation, development, and expansion.

Islamic Government and Its Leadership according to Imām Khomeinī

Sayyid Muḥsin Shaykhul-Islāmī

In this article, we attempt to review the books on jurisprudence and theology of Imām Khomeinī and thereby study and analyze the meaning of Islamic government, its distinguishing features vis-à-vis other political systems; the qualifications of the Islamic ruler and the scope of powers and qualifications of the religious jurisprudent in overseeing the Islamic government.

According to the intellectuals, a government is a composition of the three pillars of political power, territory and population. Therefore, government is that same rule that binds the previously mentioned trilateral pillars to one another.¹ Initially, it must be clarified that in this article, wherever Islamic state is mentioned it implies Islamic government or the political sovereignty of Islam.

1- Meaning of Islamic state

In his jurisprudential opinion, Imām Khomeinī about the Islamic system and the implementation of religious canons has mentioned establishment and

¹ In this research, government has been regarded as the state and not government. Refer to Sayyid Khalīl Khalīlīyān. *Inter-nation Islamic Rights* (fourth edition; Tehran, Office of Propagation of Islamic Culture, 1993) p. 127.

formation of "Islamic State" or "Islamic Government." On The differentiation of an Islamic state from other states, according to the jurisprudential opinion of Imām Khomeinī, an Islamic state differs from a "monarchy".

"From its inception, an Islamic state has rejected monarchy and its hereditary feature and has from the dawn of Islam disbanded it in Iran, Eastern Rome, Egypt and Yemen."¹

An Islamic state is not of the 'totalitarian' or 'constitutional monarchy' brand; rather, an Islamic state is the rule of divine law over the people."²

"In an Islamic state the administrators are bound by a set of conditions for execution and administration that has been determined in the Quran and by the traditions of the honorable prophet of Islam. The set of conditions are those same commandments and laws of Islam that must be observed and implemented."³

Therefore, according to his opinion, the point of delineation between Islamic system and other states that possesses totalitarian regimes, monarchy and other forms of government lies in the observance and implementation of Islamic laws and instructions.

2- Logical necessity for establishment of an Islamic state

On the reasons that demand and necessitate the establishment of an Islamic state especially during the Greater Disappearance of the Savior Immaculate Imām, His Holiness Imām Khomeinī has referred to the traditions of the prophet of Islam.

"The traditions and methods of the honorable prophet of Islam (ﷺ) necessitate the establishment of a state because firstly, he himself established a state and history proves this fact that he established a state and resorted to the implementation of laws and establishment of systems of Islam and administration of society. He would send governors to surrounding regions; he would undertake judicial activities and would appoint judges or send emissaries to foreign countries and to the chiefs of

¹ Imām Khomeinī, *Religious Jurisprudence* (third edition; Tehran, The Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imām Khomeinī, 1995) p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

clans and kings; he would enter into treaties and agreements; he would command the army; he would put into effect the state legislations.

Secondly, he appointed a successor ruler on the command of God. When the Almighty God appoints a ruler for society to succeed the honorable prophet of Islam (ﷺ) it implies that an administration is necessary after the demise of the honorable prophet of Islam (ﷺ) and because the honorable prophet of Islam (ﷺ) by his will communicated the Divine commandment, this also points to the necessity of establishing a government.”¹

From the jurisprudential point of view of Imām Khomeinī, “the necessity for implementation of religious commandments” in the same way that it necessitated the establishing of an Islamic state during the time of the honorable prophet of Islam (ﷺ), likewise, it is reason for the necessity to establish an Islamic state and form it in the present era.

“It is evident that the need for implementation of the commandments that necessitated the establishment of the administration of the honorable prophet of Islam (ﷺ) is not limited and exclusive to the era of His Holiness so that it continued even after the demise of the honorable prophet of Islam (ﷺ).”²

Likewise, the need for Islamic unity is yet another logical reason for the necessity of establishing an Islamic state that has been proposed by Imām Khomeinī:

“In order to secure the unity of Islam in order to liberate and free the homeland of Islam from the occupation and influence of colonialists and their handpicked stooges, we have no alternative except to establish a government.”³

In addition, the necessity to liberate the deprived and combat the oppressors clarifies and obviates the duty of the Muslims and Islamic theologians for creation of an Islamic state.

“We have a duty to liberate the deprived and oppressed peoples. We have a duty to support the oppressed and be an enemy of the oppressors. This is the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

same duty that the Commander of the Faithful Ḥaḍrat 'Alī ('a) wills to his honorable offspring when he states that, "Be an enemy of the oppressor and a brother of the oppressed."¹ The theologians of Islam have a duty to fight against the hegemony and abuses of the oppressors and not permit a hungry and deprived majority to live beside those plundering oppressors living in opulence and luxury."²

On the other hand, on the subject of the need to create state bodies for an Islamic state, Imām Khomeinī regarded the establishment of the executive power and appointment of an Islamic administrator to implement the commandments and series of instructions and laws of the Divine religion to be necessary and mandatory.

"A series of laws is not enough for reformation of the society. In order that the law becomes a source of reform and prosperity of mankind, it requires the executive power. For this reason, the Almighty God besides sending a series of laws, meaning the religious canons, has also installed a government and a system for implementation and administration. The honorable prophet of Islam was placed at the head of executive and administrative body of the society of Muslims. In addition to communication of Divine revelations and statement and interpretation of beliefs and tenets of the teachings of Islam, he endeavored to implement the commandments and teachings of Islam in order to create the government of Islam."³

According to the jurisprudential viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, formation of an Islamic state is one of the primary commandments of Islam such that its creation takes precedence over all secondary commandments including even the daily mandatory prayers, fasting and the *Hajj* pilgrimage. This is because an Islamic state is considered a branch of the absolute religious authority of the prophet of Allah (s).⁴

3- Objective for creation of an Islamic state

Imām Khomeinī considers safeguarding the system of the Islamic society, prevention of indiscipline and chaos among the Islamic nation, defending the territorial integrity of Islamic country from the aggression of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17

⁴ Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 452.

aliens and implementation of the Divine commandments to be among the main objectives for the establishment of an Islamic state.

“Considering the fact that the maintenance of discipline in society is among the obligatory duties emphasized by Divine teachings while indiscipline and confusion in the affairs of Moslems is disliked and disapproved by God and the masses because it is obvious that safeguarding the system and prevention of disorder cannot be realized except through installation of an Islamic government in society. Thus, there is left no doubt for the necessity to establish a government. In addition to what is said, safeguarding the frontiers of the Islamic country from the attack of foreigners and prevention of hegemony of the aggressors on it is both logically and religiously mandatory. Realization of this matter is also not possible except through establishment of an Islamic state.”¹

Likewise, with reference to a part of the sermon of the Commander of the Faithful Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī (‘a) in *Nahj al-Balāghah* in which Imām ‘Alī (‘a) has stated that,

“I swear upon the One who split the seed and created life that was it not for the presence of the oath-takers of allegiance and the final word for the necessity of my presence had not been communicated with the coming into being of the assisting force; and if it was not that God has taken a covenant from the theologians of Islam not to be a silent witness to the gluttony and plunder of the oppressors and the starvation and deprivation of the oppressed, I would have given up the reins of administration.”²

By referring to the words of the Commander of the Faithful Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī (‘a), Imām Khomeinī considers salvation of the deprived people and struggle against hegemony and oppression to be the objectives for establishment of an Islamic state.³

4- Characteristics of the Islamic state

A- From the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, one of the basic characteristics of an Islamic state is that the absolute and sole sovereignty in

¹ Status and Authority of the Religious Jurisprudent; translation of the debate on religious jurisprudence from the book entitled “*al-Bay*” of Imām Khomeinī (fourth edition, Tehran, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Propagation, 1995,) p. 23.

² *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon No. 3, (famously known as “*Shaqshaqiyyah*”

³ Rūḥullāh Khomeinī, Religious Jurisprudence, *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

it is that of God. In an Islamic state, the absolute authority is that of God as the "True Monarch".¹

B- In addition, the law governing the Islamic sate is exclusively Divine law.

"Sovereignty is exclusively of God while the law is the commandment and order of God. The law of Islam or the commandment of God has total sovereignty over all individuals in the Islamic government. All individuals, from the Honorable prophet of Islam (ﷺ) to the succeeding caliphs of His Holiness and the rest of the individuals are subservient to the law until eternity. It is that same law that has been revealed by the Almighty and Exalted God and which has found expression in the language of the Quran and the words of the Honorable Prophet of Islam (ﷺ)."²

C- Considering that, "The commandments of Islam including economic, political and legal laws are valid and binding until the Day of Resurrection"³ and considering that, "Implementation of the Divine commandments is not possible except through the pathway of the establishment of the Islamic state."⁴

For communication and implementation of the commandments of Islam, God has appointed His messenger the Honorable Prophet of Islam (ﷺ) as His custodian on earth with the responsibility of supervision and leadership of the Islamic state. In turn, the Honorable Prophet of Islam (ﷺ) appointed Imām 'Alī ('a) and his immaculate progeny as the leaders of the Islamic nation until the period of Occultation of the Savior Twelfth Imām ('a).⁵

D- During the period of the Greater Occultation of the Immaculate Savior Imām (may Allah expedite his blessed advent) "Based on logic and guidance of narrative, the perpetuation of the government and Islamic authority is a necessary affair."⁶

E- Therefore, during the period of greater occultation of the Immaculate Twelfth Imām (may Allah expedite his blessed advent), the Divine commandments must not be kept pending and remain unimplemented; rather,

¹ *Ibid.* p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³ Translation of the chapter on religious jurisprudence of the book entitled "*al-Bay'at*" of Imām Khomeinī. *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*

“Today and for all times, the presence of the ‘Custodian of the affair’ (Islamic leader) meaning a leader who upholds and implements the system and law of Islam is necessary. The presence of a ruler that prevents aggressions and injustices and violations of the rights of others; one who is honest and trustworthy and guardian of the creatures of God; one who guides the people to learning and beliefs and commandments and disciplines of Islam; one who thwarts the deviations and alterations that enemies and the faithless make in religion, laws and disciplines is essential.”¹

5- Conditions of leader of Islamic state during the era of greater occultation

For the leader and overseer of the Islamic state, Imām Khomeinī has specified special conditions such as having knowledge of Divine canons and being just and general conditions such as intelligence and prudence.

“The conditions that is necessary for the leader arises directly from the nature of the form of Islamic government. After the general conditions such as intelligence and wisdom, there are two fundamental conditions including 1- Knowledge of the laws and 2- Justice.”²

Similarly, on the chapter on religious jurisprudence of his book entitled “*al-Bay*” mentions prudence and competency as the basic conditions besides knowledge of the law and justice in exercising of leadership in an Islamic state and states that:

“However, the characteristics of competency and merit which is necessary for leadership is included in that same foremost condition of knowledge in its broader meaning and there is no doubt that administrator of an Islamic state must also possess these qualifications. Of course, it is also proper if a person mentions competency as a third condition.”³

A- Therefore administrator of an Islamic state must be a specialist vis-à-vis the laws and teachings of Islam and all the religious commandments. In jurisprudential terms, it is known as being knowledgeable and specializing in the commandments of religion and the Divine laws of jurisprudence. Thus,

¹ Religious Jurisprudence, *Ibid.*, p. 31.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ Translation of the chapter on religious jurisprudence from the book entitled “*al-Bay*” authored by Imām Khomeinī, *Ibid.*, p. 30.

“religious jurisprudence” is mentioned for the administration and leadership of the Islamic state as follows:

“Because the government of Islam is a government of law, it is essential for the administrator to have knowledge of the laws.”¹

B- The leader of an Islamic state is not only a “jurist” and “specialist” of the Islamic laws, rights and procedures; rather, he must be “just” in addition to being a “jurist”:

“The leader must be in possession of ideological and ethical perfection; he must be just and not be tainted with wrongdoings.”²

C- The inferences of the above stated conditions for administrator of an Islamic state in the opinion of Imām Khomeinī is based on the narrated proofs including references to the words of the Commander of the Faithful Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī (‘a) in the *Nahj al-Balāghah*. In his book, Imām ‘Alī (‘a) states:

“It does not deserve that a leader who takes command of the life, property and honor of Muslims and takes charge of implementation of the Divine Commandments and leadership of Muslims be miserly, ignorant, oppressive, cowardly, bribe-taker and forfeiter of the traditions of the Prophet of Islam (ṣ). This is because a miser sets his eyes on the property of the people and plunders them; the ignorant because of his ignorance causes the people to deviate and leads them astray; the unjust oppressor with his oppression and tyranny causes the killing of the people; the coward (because of his inherent weakness) inappropriately gives preference to one group over another; while the bribe-taker tramples upon the rights of the people and destroys them; and finally, the person that does away with the traditions of the Prophet of Islam (ṣ) causes the extermination of the Muslim nation.”³

With reference to this narrative, Imām Khomeinī surmises as follows:

“With a little bit of attention we can easily deduce that the statement of the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) refers to two basic characteristics namely, 1- Knowledge of the Divine decrees and 2- Justice.”⁴

¹ *Religious Jurisprudence*, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³ *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon No. 131.

⁴ Translation of the chapter on religious jurisprudence from the book entitled “*al-Bayʿ*” *Ibid.*, p. 31.

6- Sources of Islamic rights and the need for “Religious Jurisprudence” in the administration of an Islamic state

In this chapter, it is appropriate that initially—considering that tradition is one of the main sources of jurisprudence and Islamic rights—we undertake an analysis of the narrated proofs and reasons on the subject of competency of the just religious jurist in the administration of an Islamic state by relying on the reasons presented by Imām Khomeinī. About the reliance on logical reasons for proving religious jurisprudence, Imām Khomeinī regards it as a subject that does not require much of logical proof and reason.

“Religious jurisprudence is one of the subjects whose visualization causes their endorsement and does not require much of proof such that every person who has received the beliefs and instructions of Islam even comprehensively, when he comes to religious jurisprudence and visualizes it, he will immediately endorse it and recognize it as being necessary and obvious.”¹

Quoted reasons in evidence of religious jurisprudence

In presenting narrated proofs about the competency of religious jurisprudence for administration and supervision of an Islamic state has referred to narratives quoted as below:

First narrative: in his book entitled “*man la yahḍarahul-faqīh*” Shaykh Ṣadūq quotes a message as below:

“The Commander of the Faithful Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī (‘a) had stated that the Prophet of Islam (ṣ) would implore: ‘O God! Grant Thy favor and mercy to my successors’. He was asked: “O the Messenger of God! Who are your successors?” In reply, His Holiness stated “Those of my descendants who after me observe my traditions.”²

Second narrative: ‘Alī Bin Abū Ḥamzah quotes that:

“When a pious believer departs from the world, the Divine angels and the places of worship where he would go to worship God and the gates of the heavens that he would ascend because of his good deeds—all of them weep for him. Also it creates such a void in the body of Islam that nothing

¹. Religious Jurisprudence, p. 3

² Shaykh Ḥur ‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il ash-Shī‘ah*, vol. 18, chapter 8, narrative no. 50. Quoted from the chapter on religious jurisprudence of the book “*al-Bay‘*” p. 37

can fill because pious jurists are the solid fortifications of Islam in the same way that fortifications around the city protect it (and its residents).”¹

Third narrative: Shaykh Ṣadūq quoting Muḥammad Bin Esaam who in turn has quoted from Kolaynī and him from Ishāq Bin Ya‘qūb that:

“I asked His Holiness the reverend Muḥammad Bin Uthmān ‘Amrī to present my letter in which I had asked difficult questions to the Savior Twelfth Imām (‘a). Then I received the reply written by my master His Holiness the Savior Twelfth Imām (may Allah expedite his blessed advent) in which he had stated that: “But with regard to the questions that you had asked, your God has enlightened that you be steadfast to the extent that He had stated. However, concerning the problems and difficulties that come in your way, refer to the scribes of our narratives for they are my last word to you and I am the last word of God ...”²

Fourth narrative: Reliable narrative quoted from Umar bin Hanzalah that:

“I asked Abā ‘Abdullāh, Imām Ṣādiq (‘a) that whenever two Shiite followers enter into an argument concerning issues such as borrowing or inheritance with one another and in order to solve their problem and for arbitration is it right for them to go to the present ruler or official judges of the state? His Holiness stated: ‘Each of them that seeks an arbitrator in a matter that is right or wrong has definitely resorted to the evil oppressor “*ṭāghūt*” such that whatever verdict that he gives in his favor even if it is his definite right, but it is religiously unlawful. This is because he has taken his right from the verdict of the evil oppressor ‘the *ṭāghūt*’ whereas God has commanded that to disbelieve in the evil ‘*ṭāghūt*’ when He commands that, They want to seek the arbitration of the *ṭāghūt* whereas they have been commanded to disbelieve in him’.³ I said: ‘Then what must these two individuals do?’ His Holiness stated: ‘They should see that which one of you is a scribe of our narratives and is an expert on our right and wrong and is well aware of our decrees. Thus, they must leave their verdict to him and be content with the result of his arbitration because I have appointed such a person to arbitrate for you. Whenever such a judge delivers a verdict among you and his statement is not accepted, then know for sure that the ruling of

¹ *Uṣūl-e Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 38, chapter entitled “*Fiḳah al-‘Ulamā’*,” quoted from the translation of the chapter on religious jurisprudence from the book “*al-Bay’*” p. 41.

² *Wasā’il ash-Shī‘ah*, vol. 18, p. 101, narrative no. 9, quoted from the translation of the chapter on religious jurisprudence from the book entitled “*al-Bay’*” p. 45.

³ *An-Nisā*, 4: 60.

God has been belittled; that our command has been rejected; and a person that rejects us is as if he has rejected God and such a person is on par with a polytheist.”¹

Fifth narrative: In the reliable “*Qaddāh*” narrative, Imām Ṣādiq (‘a) is quoted to have stated that:

“The Prophet has stated that, ‘Any person that traverses a path on the way to gaining a knowledge, God will bring him on a course that will culminate in paradise. He went further and stated that, ‘men of learning are the descendants of the prophets and the Divine prophets excepting knowledge have not left behind an inheritance of Dirham and Dinar. Thus, any person that takes advantage of this heritage has taken possession of a bountiful pleasure.”²

Besides the previously mentioned main narratives in proof of religious jurisprudence, Imām Khomeinī has also pointed to other narratives.³

7- Establishment of an Islamic state by theologians during the era of the Greater Occultation

The viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī is based on a just, qualified (including intelligence and prudence) religious jurisprudent guiding the Islamic state. This authority is rooted in Divine obligation. In other words, with the fulfillment of conditions of each of the contemporary jurisprudents in the period of Greater Occultation, to revolt for establishment of an Islamic state and implementation of religious commandments is a religious and mandatory obligation. Based on this viewpoint, the religious jurisprudent takes its legitimacy from the righteous Divine teachings and the explicit religion of Islam based on logical and narrated reasons.

In his book entitled “*al-Bay*”, Imām Khomeinī explains that:

“The issue of leadership and supervision of the Muslim nation refers to the “just theologian” and it is he who deserves to lead the Muslims as the Islamic administrator must be endowed with “jurisprudence” and “justice”.

¹ *Wasā'il ash-Shī'ah*, vol. 18, p. 98 quoted from the book “*al-Bay*” p. 48.

² *Uṣūl-e Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 34 as quoted from the book “*al-Bay*” pp. 56-57.

³ Rūḥullāh Khomeinī, *Religious Jurisprudence*, p. 58 and pp. 93-114, *Status and powers of the Religious Jurisprudent*, translation of the book “*al-Bay*” pp. 43-44, p. 52 and pp. 61-66.

Thus, establishment of a state and formation of an Islamic government is a mandatory obligation of the just jurists.¹

Similarly, in the book "*Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*", Imām Khomeinī emphasizes this subject stating that:

"It is mandatory for the common deputies (of His Holiness the Savior Twelfth Imām) that in case they have the authority and have no fear of the oppressive rulers, that they arise to the extent that is possible in former affairs (what is for the sake of the Savior Imām ('a))."²

Based on this religious decree, we can deduce certain points as follows:

A- The common deputies are all the qualified jurists that are eligible for issuance of religious decrees and ruling. By qualified we mean that with regard to the conditions of an Islamic leader—that has been discussed previously—the jurists should be just and meet the general conditions such as being intelligent, prudent, and competent.

B- The duty to govern and lead the Islamic state and uprising for establishment of an Islamic state is a mandatory duty of the qualified jurists. This means that it is mandatory for all the just jurists who meet the rest of the previously mentioned general conditions, to arise towards implementation of Divine commandments and policies and upholding of Islamic justice and ultimately, creation of an Islamic state and to strive towards this objective. This religious duty is incumbent on all until the time that one of them has not established an Islamic state during the period of greater occultation of the Savior Twelfth Imām (may Allah expedite his blessed advent).

However, this mandatory religious obligation - taking into consideration some points such as not having fear of the tyrannical and unjust ruler and the existing possibility of implementing Divine commandments and efforts for establishing an Islamic state – is incumbent on the qualified jurists.

C- If one of the qualified jurists establishes an Islamic state and takes over its leadership, then this religious obligation because it is mandatory on any one, it is eliminated from the rest of the jurists. Additionally, it is necessary for the rest of the jurists to follow him."³

¹ Translation of the chapter on religious jurisprudence from the book entitled "*al-Bayʿ*", *Ibid.*, p. 33.

² *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 2 (first edition, Islamic Publication Office, 1989) p. 322

³ Translation of the chapter on religious jurisprudence from the book entitled "*al-Bayʿ*", *Ibid.*, p. 33.

D- In case of the lack of feasibility to revolt for establishment of an Islamic by one of the jurists:

“Should the formation of an Islamic government not be possible except by coordination and congregation, then it is mandatory for all to strive together towards the realization of this objective.”¹

E- In case of lack of practical possibility to revolt for establishment of an Islamic state by all the qualified jurists then:

“The position of jurist is not taken away from them and they remain in their former positions even though they are excused from forming a government. In the latter case, even if they do not succeed in performing state duties, but that series of affairs of the Muslims that is possible to undertake—from public property and economic affairs to implementation of the Divine penalties; rather, higher than these if required, they also have the right to rule over the lives of the Muslims.”²

8- The limits of the authorities of the administrator of an Islamic state (religious jurist)

Concerning the limits of the powers and sphere of performance of the religious jurist in running the affairs and supervising the Islamic government, Imām Khomeinī in his book entitled “*Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*” explains that which is within the scope of the powers and merits of the Immaculate Imams (‘a)—except issuing orders for undertaking elementary Jihad—also exists for the religious jurist as the leader of the Islamic state:

“During the period of the greater occultation of the Trustee of the Affairs, the Savior Imām, (may Allah expedite his blessed advent) the deputy of His Holiness is authorized to implement policies (the prescribed penalties and retributions) and all authorities given to the Immaculate Savior Imām (‘a) except elementary Jihad. In all aforesaid affairs, he is the comprehensive deputy general of His Holiness and they are those of the jurists that are qualified to issue religious verdicts and pass rulings.”³

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 2, pp. 322-323.

In stating the powers of the religious jurisprudent, Imām Khomeinī has mentioned that:

“Implementation of all laws pertaining to the state is the responsibility of the jurisprudents. They include receiving religious taxes, charities, imposing fines and spending them for the welfare of Muslims. It also includes implementation of the prescribed penalties, retributions – that must take place under the direct supervision of the administrator – and the guardian of the slain person cannot act without his supervision; safeguarding the frontiers and the law and order in cities and all in all.

In the same way that the honorable prophet of Islam (‘a) was delegated to implement the commandments and establish Islamic systems and God appointed him as leader of the Muslims and considers his obedience to be compulsory, the just jurisprudents must also be leaders and administrators and implement the commandments and install the social system of Islam.”¹

With regard to the theological viewpoints of Imām Khomeinī, we can include authority and supervision of the jurisprudent of the Islamic state in an absolute manner similar to the Immaculate Savior Imām (‘a) and in certain instances explain them as follows:

A- Competency of the just jurisprudent in judgment

By referring to the proofs of the quoted narratives including the narrative from Imām Ṣādiq (‘a),² narrated by Ishāq Bin ‘Ammār, Imām Khomeinī has emphasized on the competency of the just jurisprudent in undertaking the affair of judgment. He considers it as a theological viewpoint that is common among all religious authorities:

“From the narratives, it becomes clear that the appointment to the position of judgment rests with the prophet of Islam (ṣ) or his successor. There are no differences in that the just religious authorities based on their appointment by the Immaculate Imams (‘a) occupy the position of Judgment (rendering judgment) and that the post of justice is of those positions that belong to the just jurisprudent.”³

¹ Religious Jurisprudence; third edition, 1995, p. 61.

² *Wasā'il Ash-Shī'ah*, vol. 18, pp. six and seven. the book “*aL-Qaḍā'*”, chapter 3, narrative 2.

³ Religious Jurisprudence, *Ibid.*, p. 64.

B- Competency of the just jurisprudent to accept “*khums*” religious tax

In his book, “*Kashf al-Asrār*”, Imām Khomeinī has analyzed a subject in a chapter under the heading of “State Budget and the Islamic Government” in which he has regarded the Islamic State and at its head, the leadership of the Muslims as the authority for administration of that wealth. Thus, the leader of the Islamic state is authorized to accept five types of Islamic taxes namely, *khums*, *zakāt*, taxes connected with farmland, penalties and taxes on inheritance of an heirless person and utilize them for administration of the affairs of Muslims.¹

On the absolute authority to accept ‘*khums*’ religious tax including the portion allocated to the Imām and the portion of the ‘*sādāt*’ descendants of the household of the prophet, the religious decree proposed by Imām Khomeinī is based on the narratives of Imām ‘Alī (‘a)² and the narrative quoted by Morsil Hamadeen ‘Isā from Imām Mūsā Kāẓim (‘a)³ and this theological theory can be presented as below:

“Placing the ‘*khums*’ religious tax among war booties and profit from business is by itself a reason that Islam is in possession of a state and a government. Thus, it has stipulated the payment of ‘*khums*’ religious tax in order to solve the problems and difficulties of the state.”⁴

Similarly, with regard to the ownership of ‘*khums*’ religious tax to the Islamic state, he clarifies that:

“All the portion of the ‘*khums*’ religious tax belongs to the public wealth and the administrator has the right to utilize it and the opinion of the administrator which is based on the interests of all Muslims is binding.”⁵

Concerning the utilization of the war booties and tributes by the religious jurisprudent, Imām Khomeinī believes that:

“The verse and narratives apparently reveal that war booty is also not the personal property of His Holiness, the Prophet of Islam (ﷺ) and the

¹ Imām Khomeinī, *Kashful Asrar* (Tehran, Muḥammad Publications), p. 255.

² *Wasā’il ash-Shī’ah*, vol. 6, p. 341, Narrative no. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

⁴ Translation of the chapter on religious jurisprudence from the book “*al-Bay’*” p. 67.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

honorable Imams ('a); rather, in such public properties they have ownership in terms of utilization."¹

"Therefore, during the period of greater occultation of the Savior Imām ('a), in all affairs in which the Immaculate Imām has the right of jurisprudence, the jurisprudent possesses the authority. Included among them is 'khums' religious tax (whether it is the portion of the Imām or the portion of the 'Sadaat' descendants of the household of the prophet), war booty and whatever falls into the hands of Muslims and is known as 'fec' or tribute."²

C- Competency of the just religious jurisprudent in administrative and non-litigious affairs of the state:

Concerning the jurisprudential meaning of non-litigious affairs, it can be opined that the non-litigious affairs are virtuous deeds that religion wants its realization in society. With the performance of it by one or a few persons, the responsibility is lifted from the shoulders of others. Included among the connotations of non-litigious affairs, we can name the enjoinder of good and forbidding of evil, defense and judgment. According to Imām Khomeinī, undertaking these affairs during the period of greater occultation of the Savior Twelfth Imām is the responsibility of the just jurisprudent and he can grant permission to a qualified person to undertake them.

Included among the connotations of non-litigious affairs we can mention affairs such as "safeguarding the Islamic system", "guarding the frontiers of the Islamic homeland", 'protecting the Muslim youth from going astray and deviations' and 'prevention of anti-Islamic propaganda'³ that according to the theological viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī:

"These affairs also during the period of greater occultation of the Savior Imām ('a) are included in the powers of the religious jurisprudent."⁴

Considering that performance of the aforesaid affairs is not possible except with establishment of an Islamic state, Imām Khomeinī has regarded the establishment of an Islamic state and undertaking the affairs of the state to be within the jurisdiction of the religious jurisprudent and explains that:

"It is quite obvious that the just jurisprudents are the best people that can undertake the responsibility of these affairs. Thus, inevitably, they must

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*

intervene in the affairs and the establishment of the Islamic state should take place with their permission and supervision.”¹

In his book “*Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*”, he considers the elementary Jihad to be among the exclusive authorities of the Immaculate Imām (‘a); however, in his book “*al-Bay*” he disputes its exclusive right to belong to the Immaculate Imām and propounds as follows:

“The conclusion that we draw from all that we mentioned is that all the powers that the Immaculate Savior Imām (‘a) possesses are also possessed by the religious jurispudent unless a canonical reason is presented which shows that such and such authority and right of religious leadership of the Immaculate Imām is not because of his apparent administration; rather, it is pertains to the personage of the Imām which has been delegated exclusively to him because of his spiritual status. Alternatively, a reason is brought that such and such issue, although it pertains to the problems of the state and the apparent religious authority over the Islamic society, but it is exclusively of the person of the Immaculate Imām (‘a) and does not include others. This kind of “non-defense *Jihād*” order is famous among the jurisprudents, although this subject is also open to much debate and deliberation.”²

On this issue that whether the powers of the religious jurispudent is within the framework of the tertiary Divine commandments, or whether his verdict takes precedence over all the tertiary commandments, Imām Khomeinī believes that if the interest of the Islamic nation necessitates, then the religious jurispudent can have a say in the tertiary commandments. The powers and sphere of competency of the religious jurisprudence is to that extent where his orders take precedence over them. The viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī about the superiority of the verdict of the religious jurispudent over the tertiary commandments of Islam is founded on the fact that fundamentally, the administration is a branch of the absolute religious jurisprudence of the Prophet of Islam (s). Thus, if the administration works within the framework of the tertiary Divine commandments, then administration and absolute jurisprudence delegated to the Prophet of Islam becomes a meaningless and hollow phenomenon...³ whereas the state can prevent any issue whether related to worship or non-worship that runs against

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

² Translation of the book “*al-Bay*”, *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³ Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 451.

the interest of Islam. The state can temporarily prevent the performance of the *Hajj* pilgrimage, which is among the important Divine obligations in instances where it is contrary to the interest of the Islamic country.¹

Overall, with regard to the above explained matter, Imām Khomeinī has put forward the idea of "absolute religious jurisprudence" during the administration of the Islamic government and has proven, explained and clarified his own jurisprudential viewpoint by referring to verses and narratives and logical reasoning. In summary, in this regard, Imām Khomeinī concludes that:

"The religious jurisprudents are the final word to the people on behalf of the Savior Twelfth Imām ('a); all the affairs and all matters pertaining to Muslims have been left to their jurisdiction."²

Finally, with reference to the aggregate of the jurisprudential opinions of Imām Khomeinī, it can be concluded that Imām Khomeinī has firstly, put forward the necessity for establishment of an Islamic state by the religious jurisprudents during the period of greater occultation of the Savior Immaculate Imām. Secondly, he has presented the theory of "religious jurisprudence" for running the affairs of the Islamic state with the same competency and powers as that of the Immaculate Savior Imām ('a) and has defended it.

Thirdly, he considers the powers of the religious jurisprudent to go further than the framework of the tertiary Divine commandments and regards the verdict of the leader of the Islamic state to take priority over all of those commandments.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Religious Jurisprudence, Ibid.*, p. 71.

Islam and Republicanism from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint

Ghulām-Riḍā Karīmī

The Definition of Republic

The word "*jumhūrī*" (republic) means the masses and naturally "*ḥukūmat-e jumhūrī*" (republican government) means the government of the masses.

The Dihkhudā Lexicon and the Mu'īn Dictionary define "*ḥukūmat-e jumhūrī*" as a form of government in which the nation's representatives govern.

The word "republic" comes from the Latin word "*res publica*" which means issues (*res*) that are related to the state (*publicus*). What was meant by the word "*jumhūrī*" when its use became common in Farsi literature was a form of political order in which someone is chosen by the people to govern the country for a fixed period of time instead of a king who has hereditary power.

A republic is a sort of political order which is designed for limiting power on the one hand and advancement of the ethical position of the people on the other.

Republicanism is a topic, which, ultimately, goes back to the rejection of hegemony. Therefore, it affirms civil freedom (positive), and rejects liberal freedom (natural and negative). It is also opposed to the rule of a despot and the totalitarian structure. In this type of system, on the hand by restricting power, the political sovereignty gains the role of political management and

while on the other hand this results in the human-ethical administration of the citizens.¹

A republic is the best form of democratic government, although a republic is the shape and form of government while democracy is the essence. In fact, a republic puts an end to individual rule, tyranny, hereditary power and dynasties and it gives power to the people.

According to legal and political logic, when the word republic is used for the political form of an order or for administrative structures, the intent is either a direct or indirect representative order or a kind of segregation of powers, which in recent centuries has become popular. With the support of the citizens of a nation, a person or a group with inclination to a specific party takes power legitimately for a particular period of time and with the authority and special responsibilities which have been legislated by a kind of "mother" law (or constitution) endeavors to run the country. Theoretically, as long as this person or party fulfills the peoples requests he or they enjoy the support of the people and with the legitimacy which they have gained, they continue to govern the nation, otherwise another group or party take their place.²

In a republican government, the majority exercise political control. They have the decisive power, and they decide about important national policies. The requirement of such a government is that no one has an official position unless the people have freely given him this power and that his power is also in the hands of the people and under their supervision. In a republican society all people are equal and free.

Equality means that no one has the right to assign himself more ownership of the country than others, unless he is representing others. Thus, in a republic government the administration belongs to the public community and every one has an equal share in it. However, because of the current situation of human civilization, it is not feasible for all people to govern. Therefore, a few people are chosen by them to govern. However, these few people, who are the nation's deputies, should always be under the

¹ Dr. 'Abbās Manūchehrī, *Dialogue of Republic and Public Talk, Republicanism and the Islamic Revolution* (collection of articles); (Tehran: The Organization of Cultural Documents of the Islamic Revolution, 1377/1998), p. 31.

² Dr. 'Alī Aṣghar Kāẓemī, *The Theoretical and Ethical Fundamentals of Republicanism, Republicanism and the Islamic Revolution* (collection of articles); (Tehran: The Organization of Cultural Documents of the Islamic Revolution, 1377/1998), p. 71.

supervision of the as otherwise these delegates might exploit their power against some people.¹

Another characteristic of a republic is freedom which, like equality, is inseparable from a republican governments because if there is no freedom, the people won't be able to give their opinion about the government, and if they don't have the power to speak out, the government doesn't belong to them and if the government doesn't belong to them, then it is not a republic. In fact, freedom is a security measure to restrict of the administration's power.²

The republican order in doctrine of Islam

By establishing the institution of government administration (in any form or without regard to any form), Islam has designated to bring about the realization of the general objectives of Islam. The necessity is that a political order must be created to ensure the ascendancy of Islam and establishment of human values. While refuting hegemonic systems, the Qur'an says nothing about a special form of government (monarchy, aristocracy, republic, and so on), but there are many sections which talk about administrative systems and how to govern the society.

In the Islamic republic system, no one person has the right to make laws and no law except the decree of religious authority has applicability. In this system, legislature, planning replaces the legislative body, that under the authority of the teachings of Islam defines the way that public services are carried out all over the country. The bills that are passed which have been designed and written on the foundation of permanent and unalterable divine commandments and the current state of affairs have been taken from the Qur'an and the Traditions of the Immaculates ('a) and enjoys the approval of the people. Therefore, in this sort of government, sovereignty belongs solely to God. In the glorious Qur'an, many verses attribute rule to God (*An'ām* / 57, 62. *Yūsuf* / 40, 67. *Nisā'* / 60. *Kahf* / 26). Islamic principles and guidelines have complete rule over all people and also the Islamic government. Islamic government implies adherence to such laws. All people in the Islamic society, from the Holy Prophet (s) to his successors and others must follow divine laws without any exception until eternity and only God's decrees which are the source of justice and the guardian of law is constant and permanent for all times.

¹ Muṣṭafā Raḥīmī, *the Principles of Republican Government*, (Tehran: Amīr-Kabīr, 1358/1979), p. 8.

² *Ibid*, p. 11.

With this description, the Qur'an and Traditions have the highest measure of legitimacy, and all the institutions of the government (administrative, legislative, and judicial powers) and also all the policies must pledge to implement Islamic law and objectives.

Such a system sees all people equal vis-à-vis the law—which is historically rooted in divine religions despite racial, gender, and social differences, et cetera, because of their common origin.

In a republic based on Islamic political tradition, the political management of the society or the leadership, concerns himself with those policies, which are based upon divine ideology and Islamic values. Thus, he endeavors to align the relations among governing powers and coordinate between them. In this policy, all human relations must be within the framework of concepts such as moral training and guidance so that the groundwork for the formation of an organized population is facilitated. This type of leadership leads to material prosperity and worldly welfare, but not as an ultimate goal or objective; rather, as a guided movement so the nation benefits from a political organization and social, economic, and cultural order that correspond with religious of Islam.

The compatibility or incompatibility of Islam with republicanism

The essence of Islam is fully compatible with republicanism. The essential structure of Islam is open. The system of religious thinking Islam was an open system of thinking from the start as opposed to closed thought system.

In Islam the system of communication and relations between God and mankind and the understanding of God's message by man is wholly open. Islam has expanded through history like it has, because it is like an orb that radiates a different light in each direction. In one direction is spirituality, (Sufism), in another philosophy, yet in another direction is religious law and speculative theology, in yet another is Qur'an and the science of narratives and so on. All these are completely open whether in their creation or in their expansion. This is because in the Islamic system, no factor has been anticipated which tells a religious authority that he has to think thus and give decrees thus, or defines a certain way of thought for a philosopher, a theologian, a speaker or commentator. This system has been open throughout history.

Attention to the openness of the system of religious thought and reason in Islam gives rise to the conclusion that because in the essence of the Islamic structure the use of official trustees for interpretation of religion have

not been forecast and the addressees of the message of God themselves are the commentators that message, never does the substance of the message as a strong external source resort to necessarily limit the thought and actions of the addressees (implying the Moslem people). The core of this message is a truth which the people can understand and accept for themselves. This understanding is truly the right of all people and not the right of a certain person or caste. The differences in understanding and interpretation also come from the people. The people and the message are like two points in space, which don't create any closed system. In an inherent structure—of the kind that has been mentioned—the message only recognizes the people and doesn't recognize anything else. At this point, if we look at this issue from the political point of view we will conclude that for the followers of such a religion, "republicanism"—meaning where the people choose the goals and deeds of their political line—is the most natural political state of affairs. It is possible that some of the addressees interpret this message that inside it there are specific guidelines and values that supervise political issues. This is possible; however, it is important that because interpretation of the message does not have an official custodian, accepting such an interpretation or even criticizing it is also the right of the people. The acceptance of the interpretation would mean that a group of people have willfully accepted a certain interpretation and have adapted their political involvement on this basis. This is the essence of deciding one's own political destiny and it is how a republic works.¹

Islamic republic

The main thing that had a special glitter and appeal in a particular motto and desire of the Moslem people of Iran in the year 1337/1978 and can be regarded as the third part of this slogan was "Islamic Republic".

"Independence, freedom, Islamic Republic" means that the people sought their independence and freedom under the protection of an Islamic Republic. With this statement they rejected all types of governments with any prefix or suffix to it except a government that assures their independence and freedom and also values their Islamic and religious identity. Therefore, they chose an Islamic Republic as the third element of this basic and pivotal slogan.

Before and after the Islamic Revolution, in the form of messages, interviews, and answers to questions about the desired government of the

¹ *Collection of Articles on Republicanism and the Islamic Revolution*, (Article "Republicanism and the Essential Structure of Islam"), by Hujjat al-Islām Mujtahid Shabestari, pp. 280 through 282.

people of Iran and himself, the Imām explained how the future government was going to be. Below we have quoted some of his sayings on the subject.

Question: You clarified that you wanted to create an Islamic government similar to the one at the time of Imām 'Alī ('a). Does this mean that after the fall of the Pahlavī dynasty you will establish an Islamic caliphate government?

Answer: The "Islamic Republic government" that we have in mind will be inspired by the Holy Prophet (s) and Imām 'Alī's ('a) methods and it will rely on the public's votes, and the form of government will be determined by referring to the votes of the nation.

Question: What is the nature of your proposed government and who will govern it?

Answer: "Our proposal about the kind of government is an Islamic republic and because the nation is Moslem and they accept us as their servants; therefore, we presume they will vote in favor of our proposal. We will create an Islamic republic by public referendum. As for the particular person who will govern, this depends on the nation's votes and right now we have no specific person in mind."¹

"With the revolutionary upheaval of the people, the king will go and a democratic and Islamic republican government will be set up. In this republic, a national parliament, made up of the true elected representatives of the people, will run the affairs of the nation."²

Question: Can you explain what you mean by Islamic government and an Islamic republic?

Answer: "... The entire nation from throughout the country shouts aloud that "We want an Islamic republic. An Islamic regime and Islamic republic, is a regime that is based public vote and public referendum and its constitution is Islamic law and it must be in conformity with Islamic law."³

"The people of Iran have announced their demands which includes the overthrow of the Pahlavī monarchy, the elimination of the system of monarchy, and the implementation of an Islamic order. I have proposed an Islamic republic to the people which we will put to public vote after the

¹ *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 332.

² *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 244.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 3, p. 514.

downfall of the king. No group or person can oppose the wishes of the nation of Iran as otherwise they are doomed to extermination.”¹

“We desire the establishment of an Islamic republic which is a government that is based on vote of the people. Taking the current state of affairs into account, the final form of the government will be decided by the people themselves.”²

“The current struggle in Iran is a completely Islamic one and is in order to bring about complete change in the despotic order and to establish an Islamic republic.”³

“Our goal is to establish an Islamic republic and our plan is to achieve freedom and independence.”⁴

“The administrative system of Iran is an Islamic republic that preserves the independence and democracy and is based on Islamic laws and criterion.”⁵

“The goal is the same which I have stated in my speeches and announcement which is:

“A. The downfall of the Pahlavī dynasty...

“B. Establishing an Islamic republic regime based on Islamic principles and relying on the nations votes.”⁶

It is interesting to note that on the 21st of Ābān in 1357 (November 10, 1978) after referring to the features of an Islamic republic, Imām Khomeinī strongly criticized people who allege that the Islamic government has no plan and also people who are ignorant of Islam and who claim that the Islamic republic is essentially baseless. While in another interview the Imām stated: “We desire an Islamic republic. ‘Republic’ is the shape of the government and ‘Islamic’ means the essence of that form is divine law.”⁷

One month before the victory of the revolution, in answer to a reporter who asked what the form of government would be, Imām Khomeinī declared: “That which is important is the criteria which must govern this administration of which the most important are that first of all it must rely on the nation’s votes such that all the people participate in choosing the person or persons who will govern the country’s affairs. Second, that these persons

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 440.

² *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 248.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 333.

⁴ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 263.

⁵ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 309.

⁶ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 349.

⁷ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 398.

must abide by the political and economic course and the rest of social criteria of the nation and also observe all Islamic laws and criterion. In this regime, the administrators must certainly consult regularly with the people's delegates in decision making and if the representatives do not agree, the governors cannot decide by themselves." 57/10/23 (November 11, 1978)¹

About the form of government, the first article of the Constitution states:

"The nation of Iran, based upon their long time belief in the Qur'an's decree of truth and justice, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution under the leadership of the great religious authority, Āyatullāh al-'Uzmā' Imām Khomeinī, in a referendum held on the 10th and 11th of Farvardīn of 1358 (April 1, 1979) Solar Hegira coinciding with the 1st and 2nd of Jamādī al-Awwal of the year 1399 Lunar Hegira with a majority of 98.2 percent of all eligible voters gave their assent for an Islamic republic as Iran's form of government."

Islamic republic has been defined in the foreword of the constitution as follows:

"... In the point of view of Islam a government is arisen from classes and the hegemony of a particular person or group; rather, it is the reflection of the political aspirations of a like-minded nation which organizes itself so that in the process of the evolution of their thought and beliefs they can pave the way towards realization of the ultimate goal (movement toward Allah) ..."

Therefore,

"The issue of republic pertains to a form of government that necessitates a kind of democracy which means that the people have the right to choose their own destiny and this does not call for the people to exempt themselves from inclining towards a particular creed or ideology or commitment to a religion."²

"Moreover, the republic being Islamic isn't contradictory with a national sovereignty or with democracy in general. The principles of democracy never require that an ideology or creed should not govern a nation. We also see that political parties usually consider themselves to be affiliated to a specific ideology and this is not only do they not regarded to

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 436.

² Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *On the Islamic Revolution*, Ṣadrā Publication, (Tehran: 1368/1989), p. 81.

be against the principles of democracy; rather, indeed they pride in it. As for the mistake of those who believe that a republic being Islamic is contradictory with the spirit of democracy it is because their idea of democracy is still the obsolete democracy of the eighteenth century in which the rights of the people was summarized into issues concerning livelihood, food, shelter, clothes, and freedom in choosing one's livelihood."¹

Some believed that by bringing up the issue of Islamic republic instead of absolute republic in which the right to absolute government belongs to all the people of the nation, the rights of the people were disregarded. Therefore, with various excuses, they tried to change this concept so that instead of 'Islamic Republic' they wanted to replace another term which was more common and widespread in the world. Some proposed 'democratic republic' while others proposed 'Islamic democratic republic' and so on. Maybe this was the idea of people who thought that being Islamic was contradiction to democracy, and the sovereignty of the people, and their right to choose their destiny. Or, perhaps because some believed that democracy and freedom were synonymous—although the truth is that freedom is a principle while democracy implies the participation of the people in managing their own affairs and is a method and the result of the experience of mankind—and they both thought that the mention of "Islamic" in an Islamic government was in conflict with this kind of freedom and did away with the absolute right of governorship of the people, however, they were heedless of the fact that a religion which has acknowledged freedom in its teachings and charter can utilize democracy as a method. Thus, we arrive at the conviction that Islamic thought, as the most successful course in the administration of the concerns of the society, is not compatible conflict with democracy at all. Regarding the fact that the form of the future government should be an Islamic republic and nothing else, in one of his speeches the Imām stated that, "I vote for Islamic republic, not one word more and not one word less." Therefore, the Imām opposed the idea that the republic not be Islamic and he also opposed adding other words such as 'democracy' and 'democratic' to Islamic republic because he saw them as being against the desire and will of the nation and also as an affront to Islam.

"The enemy opposed 'Islamic Republic' idea as much as they could. For instance, they said it should be 'purely' a republic. What do we want Islam

¹ *Ibid*, p. 83-84.

for? It should be 'democratic republic'; the title does not need 'Islam'. Finally, some of the parties said 'democratic Islamic republic'. Our nation accepted this and said whatever we understand. We understand Islam, and we understand what a republic is. But democracy has changed its stripes many times in the course of history. Its meaning is always changing with the passage of time. Nowadays it has one meaning in the west and a different meaning in the east. Plato would say one thing while Aristotle would say something else, we don't understand these things. Why should we use and vote for something that we cannot figure out? What we do understand is that we know exactly what Islam is. In other words, we know it is a fair and just regime. We know that it implies justice. We found out its merit and how it works from the caliphs at the advent of Islam such as 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib ('a), and we also know that republic means that the people should vote and we accept these. However, even if you put democratic next to Islam we cannot accept it. In addition it is also an affront to Islam. If you put it next to Islamic, it means that Islam is not democratic although Islam is in fact higher than all democracies. Thus we don't accept it at all. If you place it next to Islam it is like saying 'Islamic Republic of Justice'. This is an effort to Islam because justice *is* Islam. As a result, the nation did not accept it. Some literary people and liberals were trying hard to eliminate the word 'Islamic', and we saw this as being because they were dealt a blow by Islam and therefore they did not want it to be part of the title. In any case, all the world powers saw that our oil had stepped out of their grasp and, who had taken it away? A nation that cries out for Islam ..."¹

Hence, that which the Imām saw as a potential cause of destruction of Islam in Iran and lessening in the desire of the nation for Islam was to change the essence of the Revolution away from its Islamic roots. Therefore, the Imām forbade adding words like 'democracy', 'democratic' and so forth to Islamic Republic. Martyr Muṭahharī assessed the Imām's purpose in doing this as follows:

"In Islam there is personal freedom and democracy, except that there are differences between Islamic thought and western thought. Considering this it becomes evident that in the phrase 'Democratic Islamic Republic' the word democratic is surplus and redundant. In addition, in the future when people see a series of freedom and democracy in the Islamic republic government they will say it is not because it is Islamic but because it is democratic. In other words, the Islamic republic will have two aspects

¹ The Imām's speech with the commanders of the Guard Corps (*Sepāh-e Pasdārān*), *The Islamic Republic Newspaper*, Ordībehesht 1359/ May 1980

namely, democratic foundations and Islamic foundations and that which pertains to freedom and personal rights and democracy is related to the democratic foundations. This republic is not based upon the Islamic foundations for worship and transactions, but the governing principles of Islam. We want to emphasize this. In Islam, there is democracy and there is also freedom. Democracy in Islam means unbridle humanity whereas in the lexicon of the West this word means unbridle animalism."

"Another reason that the Imām stressed this opposition to the word 'democratic' is to reject imitation of the west and blind following of their criterion. The Imām's reasoning is that he does not want his nation to set its eyes on the West. Not only would this blind irritation not help the nation of Iran but it would ultimately lead to loss of morale and defeat of the nation. According to the Imām, the use of this word is a kind of betrayal of the independent spirit of this nation because we have the gem of freedom in our culture and we do not need to ask others to help us in this respect."¹

Religious Jurisprudence in the Islamic Republic

Creating an Islamic government has been the aspiration of the Moslem nation of Iran throughout history. In this century, effective measures were taken by the people to realize this long-standing aspiration. The downfall of the two thousand and five hundred year old monarchy regime in Iran by means of the Moslem nation that was in favor of establishing an Islamic government is by itself the best reason of the people's knowledge, acceptance, and welcoming of the system of Religious jurisprudence. With the triumph of the Islamic Revolution and the formation of an Islamic order based upon Religious jurisprudence, the theory of Islamic government was realized in the way that it was proposed by Imām Khomeinī.

In the Islamic Republic and by the grace of the Islamic Revolution, which triumphed because it was based upon the three pillars of support of religious jurisprudence of a just religious authority of the time, extensive participation of the Moslem nation, and reliance upon Islam, the concept of religious jurisprudence was formed and implemented within the framework of the Islamic Republic and with the ratification of the constitution. The government of Religious jurisprudence is the rule of divine laws over all the people.

Here we will explain how the concept of religious jurisprudence took shape within the template of the constitution. After the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, in the initial phases of the formation of the Islamic order, at the same time as the ratification of the constitution by the Assembly of Experts,

¹ Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Ibid*, p. 99-103.

extensive efforts were made by those who didn't believe in the doctrine of the Islamic rule to hold back legislation of the article on religious jurisprudence. Using a coordinated propagation campaign, this movement tried to infuse doubts in relation with the form and feasibility of a system based on religious authority and the most obvious of these was their attempt to make this system look like a dictatorship.

Imām Khomeinī who is considered to be the greatest opponent of tyranny and dictatorship in modern history stated the following about the issue of the religion of dictatorship of the religious jurisprudence:

"They think that if the law of religious jurisprudence is passed there will be bullying while there is no such thing in Islam. These people just know how to talk. When they say it will create a dictatorship it is not because they don't know that it is untrue but because these people hate Islam. Religious jurisprudence is not something that the Assembly of Experts invented. It is something that God Almighty has made. It is the authority of Allah's Messenger, and these people are afraid of the authority of Allah's Messenger. Do not be afraid of religious jurisprudence. A jurisprudent doesn't want to oppress the people. If he wants to oppress the people he is not a jurisprudent anymore. The law governs in Islam. The Holy Prophet (s) was also subordinate to the law—subordinate to divine law. If the Prophet was a dictator or was the kind of person that people were afraid that he would become a dictator when he became powerful—then a jurisprudent also can be a dictator. We want to prevent dictatorship. We don't want a dictatorship. We want an anti-dictatorship. Religious jurisprudence is anti-dictatorship; it is not dictatorship."

At another instance, the Imām emphasizes that:

"The characteristics that are present in a jurisprudent; in a religious authority, because of which God has made him a jurisprudent. Because of having those characteristics, he cannot err even one bit."

In a writing, the Imām explains the principle of trusteeship (of the jurisprudent) in religious, political, and social issues as such:

"Religious authorities having the necessary qualifications are the representatives of the Immaculates ('a) in all religious, political, and social issues and they are the trustees of Islamic affairs during the era of the Major Occultation of the Savior Twelfth the Imām ('a)."

Thus, with the astute emphasis of our departed Imām Khomeinī and his clarification of the fact that government based on religious jurisprudence is necessary equivalent to the Islamic government of the era of the Occultation, this basic principle of Islam became lawful, and after the lapse of centuries during the Major Occultation of the Savior Twelfth the Imām of the Age ('*aj*) the first Islamic government based on the rule of His Holiness in the complete sense of the term was established. Consequently, the efforts of aware and unaware enemies came to naught.

During this time period if it were not for the decisiveness, vigor, management, and unrivaled foresight of the great leader of the Islamic Revolution, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the religious authority of the time, Imām Khomeinī, the enemies of Islam might have caused deviation from the path of the Revolution to occur with the help of their lackeys.

Theories of the legitimacy of religious jurisprudence

1. Theory of absolute ordainment of jurisprudential authority (the preference of Islam over republicanism)

According to this theory, which is also called the 'Theory of Independent Authority of Jurisprudent', the source of the legitimacy of the religious jurisprudence is God and no one has the right to religious jurisprudence without Him. In this framework, an eligible and just religious authority is directly chosen by one of the Immaculate Imāms ('*a*) and the role of the people is just like their role in relation with the government of the Immaculate Imāms ('*a*), meaning the people must accept and obey the religious authority that has been given the authority. Therefore, according to this theory, the just religious authority is appointed by God and gets his legitimacy from Him and the jurisprudent's verdict precedes all primary and secondary commandments. Because he is the opponent jurisprudential authority of the Imām of the Age ('*aj*), such a religious authority enjoys all the power of the Prophet (*ṣ*) and the Immaculate Imāms ('*a*) in government, and it is not such that the religious authority's powers are restricted; rather, he has absolute religious authority.

Based on this theory, because religious jurisprudence is a divine trusteeship, the vote and choice of the people have no role in it and if the

people do not vote for him, he will still be the Imām and jurisprudent, and his intervention in affairs will not be a usurpation.”¹

Also, this theory states that “The effect of the participation of the people and their freedom of expression in the area of thought is not only a guarantor of the implementation of religious jurisprudence; rather, it is the key to the success of principle of religion and the sovereignty of the Qur’an and the leadership of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) and the guidance of the Immaculate Imāms (‘a). Never must the external effect of the participation of the people and its influence in establishing the right to sovereignty and causation vis-à-vis the principle of religious jurisprudence be mixed. Also never on the pretext of upholding the public vote, should we deem the right to sovereignty as the choice of masses and forget its divine aspect.”²

Imām Khomeinī also believed in this theory. In his book, “*Kashf al-Asrār*”, which was written in 1322 Solar Hegira (1943), the Imām stated:

“No one except God has the right to rule over others or to legislate laws. Therefore, logically God must form a government for the people and He must also formulate laws for them. These laws are the same laws of Islam which God has established and later on we will prove that these laws are for everyone and for always.”³

The the Imām’s discussions concerning the logic of religious jurisprudence, which was written in 1347 (1958) explains the divine origins of government:

“It is God’s command to follow the Honorable Prophet... Following the authorities of the government or the vicegerent is also by Divine command, according to what the Qur’an states that:”⁴

“The government of Islam is the rule of law. Sovereignty is exclusively of God, and the law is God’s decree and command. The law of Islam or God’s command is the complete ruler over all people and Islamic governments. All people, from the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) to his caliphs and everyone else until eternity, must obey the law. If the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) was entrusted with the caliphate, it was because the Great and Almighty God appointed him caliph. And also after that, through revelation, the Almighty

¹ Āyatullāh Ḥasan Ṭāherī Khorram-Ābādī, *Religious Vicegerency and the Government of the People*, [no location], 22nd of Bahman Publication, [no date], p. 94.

² Āyatullāh Javādī Āmolī, *Religious Vicegerency, Leadership in Islam*, (Tehran: The Raja Center of Cultural Publication, 1368/1989, p. 21.

³ Imām Khomeinī, *Kashf al-Asrār*, [no location], Zafar Publication, 1323/1944, p. 184.

⁴ Imām Khomeinī, *Islamic Government*, p. 55.

God mandated the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) to immediately communicate the issue of caliphate to the people in the middle of the desert.”¹

Of course all through the years after the victory of the Revolution, despite his abundant respect for the vote and opinion of the people, the Imām emphasized the divine legitimacy of the government:

“If there is no religious vicegerency, the system is evil oppression “*Tāghūt*”. If it is not by God’s decree, if the president is not installed by a religious jurisprudent it is not legitimate! If it is not legitimate then it is “*Tāghūt*”... “*Tāghūt*” or evil oppression is destroyed when someone is installed by the decree of the Sublime and Almighty God.”²

In practice, in instances whereas an important appointment necessitated involvement in the affairs of the state, the Imām has pointed to the source of the appointment. Below we refer to a few such examples as:

“Because of religious right and also based on the vote of confidence of the majority of the people of Iran which has been bequeathed upon me, for the sake of the realization of the Islamic goals of the nation a council by the name of the “Council of the Revolution” which is composed of competent, Moslem, duty-bound, and trustworthy people, has been designated temporarily and they will shortly start their work.”³

Concerning the appointment of Engineer Bāzargān as prime minister, and in urging the people to obey Bāzargān, the Imām stated:

“I, who appointed him governor, am a person who installed him by the vicegerency that was bestowed upon me by God. Obeying the person who I installed is obligatory. The nation must obey him. This is not an ordinary government; it is a religious government. To oppose this government is to oppose religion.”⁴

2. Theory of Selective Ordainment of Religious Jurisprudence (The Preference of Republicanism over Islam)

According to this theory, the source of the legitimacy of the religious jurisprudent are the people who have the main role in the realization of the

¹ *Ibid*, p. 54.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 221.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 426.

⁴ *Ibid*, vol. 6, p. 59.

rule of the religious vicegerent. In effect, the popular vote is a condition for the qualification of the religious vicegerent. To state the matter differently, a just religious authority that has all the necessary qualifications for leadership must have another qualification for his competency to be assured and for his government to attain legitimacy, and that condition is that he be elected by the people.

The proponents of this belief justify their view by referring to some narratives of the Blessed Prophet or the principle of council (in the Qur'an) and the issue of swearing allegiance. This group believes that the religious jurisprudent does not have the right to modify laws or interfere in affairs independently on his own. They believe that in addition to the verdict of the jurisprudent, the vote of the people is also a condition in resolution of problems.¹

Āyatullāh Āzarī Qummī regards Shaykh Anṣārī as believing in this theory and he declares that according to the Shaykh's view, religious authority and Islamic government depend on the vote of the populace. This theory—the Shaykh's theory—deems advisable the necessity of electing a religious authority possessing all the necessary qualifications for leadership.²

Although Imām Khomeinī is not considered one of the advocates of this theory, yet he has pointed out on many occasions the necessity to abide by the votes of the nation and the responsibility to refrain from forcing anything upon the people. Thus, in some instances, he categorically states that he regards the legitimacy of the system to be the result of the votes of the people:

“We don't have the intention to impose anything upon our people. Islam hasn't given us the right to become dictators. We obey the vote of the people. We will go along in whatever manner the nation votes. We do not have the right (to oppose the people). Allah, the Holy, the Almighty, has not given us the right to do this; the Prophet of Islam (ﷺ) has not given us the right to force anything upon our nation.”³

In addition, the practical and theoretical methods of the Imām was fraught with the words ‘people’ and ‘nation’. Perhaps, we can even dare to

¹ Bahrām Akhavan Kāzimī, *The Continuance of Religious Vicegerency in the Imām's Thought*, (Tehran: The Center of Printing and Publication of the Islamic Propagation Organization, 1377/1998), p. 129.

² Refer to: Āyatullāh Āzarī Qumī, *Religious Jurisprudence in the Philosophy of Islamic Authorities*, (Qum: The Press Institute of Dar Al-Elm), first edition, spring 1371/1992, p. 126

³ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 34.

say that no religious authority has ever in his entire life, deemed the people as having such a role or glorified and respected them as much as Imām Khomeinī did.

“Here, the votes of the nation rules. Here, it is the nation that controls the government and the people have established these organizations. Violating the verdicts of the nation is not permissible or possible for any one of us.”¹

“We obey the vote of the people.”²

“The choice is with the nation.”³

“Now, the people must all supervise the affairs.”⁴

“No group or person can oppose the wishes of the nation of Iran; otherwise they are condemned to extermination.”⁵ The nation of Iran wants an Islamic republic.”⁶

In any event, the collection of the above statements and some of his other speeches show that the Imām regarded the votes of the people to be of great value and importance and he never used divine legitimacy to suppress the people's wishes and create a dictatorship.

3. Divine popular theory of religious jurisprudence (bilateral legitimacy)

According to this theory, the system of religious jurisprudence has a joint legitimacy meaning that in addition to God being the source of legitimacy religious jurisprudence, the people also play a part. In other words, the legitimacy religious jurisprudence is not solely done by God and not solely ordained by the people; rather, it is a kind of joint ordainment by God and the people or a double legitimacy, which guarantees both the support pillar of the Islamic order and also that of republicanism. In such a system, the votes of the people to choose an Islamic ruler and their satisfaction regarding the appointment of such a religious authority, is a basic and important condition in the Divine appointment of a just religious authority by God. In other words, only a religious authority which the people choose is appointed by God and has the right to political jurisprudential authority.

¹ *In Search of the Path in the Words of the Imām (ninth book), the People, the Nation*, (Tehran: Amīr-Kabīr Publications), 1362/1983, p. 343.

² *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 34.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 479.

⁴ *Ibid*, vol. 13, p. 193.

⁵ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 440.

⁶ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 505.

In Bilateral Legitimacy the "Popular Legitimacy" ultimately passed on to "Divine Legitimacy" because the right of the people throughout the right of sole sovereignty was divine and was never at odds with it.

The difference between the theories of "Popular Legitimacy" and "Bilateral Legitimacy" is that the advocates of "Popular Legitimacy" believe that God has made man to be in control of his own social destiny and the right to political authority has been delegated to all people by God and that by observing certain divine guidelines the people entrust their God given right to eligible and just religious authorities. In other words, in the theory of "Popular Legitimacy" the competency to exercise authority by an eligible religious authority is legalized solely by the people. However, in the theory of "Bilateral Legitimacy", in addition to gaining their legitimacy (meaning the exclusive right of divine rule and authority) indirectly from the people, this divine authority is also directly delegated to them by God.

The difference between the theories of those who believe that the source of legitimacy of religious jurisprudence is exclusively praiseworthy God (Divine legitimacy) and advocates of "Bilateral Legitimacy" is perfectly obvious because in "Bilateral Legitimacy", the Blessed God does not grant the religious authority to any eligible religious jurisprudent; rather, this right is delegated only to religious authorities elected by the people.

In the theory of "Divine Legitimacy", religious authority such that in "People's Legitimacy" the elected religious authority does not need any qualifications other than the nomination of the people to be legitimate. In "Bilateral Legitimacy", besides being designated by the people, a religious authority must also be appointed by God and such an authority only has the right to exercise jurisprudential authority and nothing more.

In his practical and theoretical behavior, the Imām has largely acknowledged the theory of the Joint Divine Popular Legitimacy in such a way that beside Divine Legitimacy he would constantly mention the trust of the majority of the people or vote of the greater part of decisive majority. The Imām also believed that disregarding of the people was not right.

The claim of emphasis on the popular legitimacy of the government along with divine legitimacy is an interpretation that the Imām made about the future government of Iran (after the fall of the king). In answer to the question of a French journalist, the Imām declared:

"For us 'republic' has the same meaning that it has everywhere, although this republic is based upon a constitution that is the law of Islam. Why we say "Islamic Republic" is because the qualifications of nominees and also the laws that are to be written in Iran are based on Islam. However, the

choice is with the people and the manner of this republic is the same as republics that are everywhere.”¹

About the method of appointment of the custodian of the affairs of Islamic society, the Imām states:

“If the people voted for the Experts in order to choose a just religious authority for the leadership of their government, when the Experts also nominate someone for leadership, that person is certainly acceptable to the people. Thus he becomes the nominated trustee of the people and his verdict is binding.”²

This statement somewhat indicates the Joint Divine-Popular Legitimacy of religious authority. Based upon the Imām's principles of jurisprudence which have been written in his books on logical, the legitimacy of rule is divine, although without the consent of the people exercising authority is neither legitimate nor even possible. According to the latter statement, also the exercising jurisprudential authority and also appointment of jurispudent is based upon the authority fulfilling having divine qualifications and also the definite consent and election by the people. We can name this type of legitimacy ‘Divine-Populist’.³

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 479.

² *Ibid*, vol. 21, p. 371.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 479.

Republicanism and Islam in Imām Khomeinī's Practical Method

With the passing of more than two decades from the Islamic Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Republic order by the architect and ideologue of the Revolution and also its validation by the people on the 12th of Fravardīn in 1358 (April 1, 1979) and its ratification within the framework of the articles of the constitution, still some people are trying to sacrifice the republicanism of the system in favor of Islam such way that creating an artificial conflict between these two objectives is one of the political challenged facing our society. The scheme to eliminate republicanism from the foundation and form of the political system and to change this order to Islamic rule is a clear program of some powerful political parties in the society. The best example of these efforts is the maxim of "Government of Islamic Justice" in 1376/1977, which was used extensively in theoretical works, speeches, and written compositions to strengthen the Islamic aspect of the order and weaken its republic aspect. These people believe that the "Government of Islamic Justice" negates 'Islamic Republic' and they say that the system which has been legally formulated in the constitution was a transitory period. This system has to evolve into "Government of Islamic Justice" after passing this transitory period.

Of course, conversely, some people strive to weaken the Islamic content by making the republic aspect of the order more prominent. Both these endeavors have become challenges and grounds for discord in the society. Therefore, referring back to events at the beginning of the Revolution and the Imām's viewpoint of the republic and Islamic aspect of the order can be useful.

Imām Khomeinī, whose name is justifiably been tied to republicanism in our history and who must be considered as the main architect of republicanism in Iran, in answer to the question of a journalist in Mehr of 1358 (October 1979) stated that the system that the Islamic Revolution has in mind is an Islamic Republic, and this opened new horizons in the politics of Iran.

Persistently, from the very beginning, the Imām would maintain that the goal of the Revolution and the goal of bringing about the end of the monarchy regime was the formation of an Islamic republic. Thus, the nation also changed to the slogan of "Independence, Liberty, Islamic Republic" as the main slogan of their Revolution. On this subject, Imām Khomeinī stated:

"With the revolutionary uprising of the nation, the king will go and a democratic government and Islamic republic will be formed. In this republic

a council composed of the true elected representatives of the people will govern the affairs of the country.”¹

In answer to another journalist's question about the kind of government he had in mind, the Imām said:

“We want to form an Islamic Republic which is a government based upon the public vote. The final form of the government, with regard to the current state of affairs will be defined by the people themselves.”²

The system that was introduced in this way to the revolutionary nation of Iran and world public opinion was an order that:

“It must unerringly respect the public vote everywhere....The press is free to publish all truths and events; all parties and gatherings by the people are free unless they threaten the interests of the people.”³

The leader of the Revolution believed that the principle of forming such an order, which is also a “guardian of independence and democracy”, depended upon the votes cast in a public referendum. The Imām would declare that the people of Iran oppose any scheme that results in the perpetuation of the despotic order and the preservation of the Pahlavī Dynasty. There is no ambiguity in the proposal that the nation made through the country-wide referendum. The government system of Iran is the Islamic Republic of Iran which is the custodian of independence and democracy and based upon Islamic laws and guidelines, it was declared that we will soon refer this proposal officially to public opinion.⁴ The Imām continuously declared that the principle of the reliance of the government on the people's votes means the acceptance of referendum as the foundation for establishment the new political system. Additionally, in order to prevent any misunderstandings and to obstruct misinterpretations about the proposed government, the Imām frequently explained that the meaning of republic is the same as in other places. However, since the populace is Moslem, the contents of laws is sourced and taken from Islam. In answer to a French

¹ Interview with the Radio-Television Broadcasting of Austria, (57/9/10 – December 1, 1998), *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 244.

² Interview with Reporter Garden, (58/8/10—November 2, 1979), *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 248.

³ Interview, (58/8/11 – November 2, 1979), *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 266.

⁴ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 309.

journalist who asked: "Islamic republic is not very clear to us Frenchmen because republic can be without a religious foundation. Is your republic based upon socialism, or is it based upon constitutionalism, or democracy? How is it?" The Imām replied:

"Republic has the same meaning that it has elsewhere, although this republic is based upon a constitution that is the law of Islam. But the choice rests with the people. We say Islamic Republic because the qualifications of nominees and also the laws that are implemented in Iran are based on Islam. Therefore, the choice rests with the people."¹

In the Imām's opinion, because "The majority of the Iranian nation is Moslem" this majority can form an Islamic republic."²

Thus, not only does the Islamic aspect of the system not contradict the republican aspect; rather, it is basically it is dependant upon it and the right of national sovereignty and republicanism guards and guarantees the Islamic aspect. Additionally, in such a republic the rights of the minorities are also respected. Not only can we not take away the right to rule of the minority of people in the name of Islam; rather, on the pretext of defending Islam we can also not disregard the rights of the minorities. In the opinion of the great leader of the Revolution "The laws of Islam are progressive laws and are based on democracy and are advanced."³

Two weeks after the victory of the Revolution, while hinting at putting the question of Islamic republic to referendum, the Imām declared that, "The opposition is free and has the right to express its opposition" and everyone is free to vote on the principle of Islamic republic.⁴ Also, on the 12th of Farvardīn in 1358 (April 1, 1979), in a radio-television broadcast in connection with the referendum, the Imām addressed the nation stating that:

"I declare this an Islamic republic and I consider this day a day of celebration. I hope that every year the 12th of Farvardīn (April 1) is a day of celebration for the nation of Iran who attained national power and they shall take their destiny into their own hands." (*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 462)

Furthermore, he emphasized:

¹ *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 479.

² *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 481.

³ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 429.

⁴ *Ibid*, vol. 6, p. 265.

"There is no repression in Islam. In Islam there is freedom for all classes and social groups....there is no more a secret service....the government can no longer oppress the nation. The government in an Islamic state serves the nation. It must be the servant of the people."¹

Thus, with the referendum of Iran's courageous nation, a republican system was born for the first time in Iran's history and a new era was started in the life of the people. The fall of the sultanate and the formation of a republic caused the creation of a new people in Iran, a people that are no longer divided and inferior and has achieved the merit to take its destiny in its own hands.

Considering that the people had been prompted to the republican order by their positive vote in the referendum on 12th of Farvardīn (April 1, 1979), they had also given a negative vote to non-republic systems including absolute monarchy, conditional monarchy and various forms of one-man, autocratic and aristocratic regimes. It was because they were Moslems and wanted a social life which was in conformity with the essence of Islam and was in the spirit of Islamic ideals. With their own vote and will they guaranteed and protected the Islamic aspect of the system and therefore said no to secular, various forms of, and nonreligious republican system. As the Imām had always remarked: "Not one word less and not one word more, only an Islamic Republic."² In a national solidarity and a legitimizing and legal document by the name of a constitution on the 12th of Āzar of 1358 (December 2, 1979) through a new referendum, the nation realized its referendum aspiration. Based on this, the Islamic republic is truly a republic because it officially recognizes the people's participation in choosing their own destiny; and it is truly Islamic because it is an expression of the will of Moslem people that want the values, aspirations, and guidelines of Islam to govern the relationships between them. Its fifth article is totally dedicated to "The sovereign right of the people and the powers that emerge from them". The fifty-sixth article of the constitution states that "God has given mankind the right to determine their social destiny and no one has the right to take away this divine right from the people or use it for the benefit of a certain person or group." Based upon this same article, the nation exercises its God-given right of sovereignty through the principles of the constitution. Thus, the Islamic aspect of the order is also dependant on its republican aspect and for this reason; the preservation of the Islamic aspect of the government

¹ *Ibid*, vol. 6, p. 463.

² *Ibid*, vol. 6, p. 3.

depends on preservation of its republican and democratic aspect. This is the same principle on which the Imām founded the new system.

Using this logic, the alleged contradiction between the Islamic and republican aspects of the government is resolved and article 177 of the constitution, which introduces the two Islamic and republican aspect as unalterable elements of the political system acquires a logical definition. The will of the majority of the people demolished the ancient order in the process of the Revolution and replaced it with a new order. This was a determination that, in the new order and based on the constitution, shaped the political life of the nation and linked its republicanism to Islam. As long as such a will persists in the majority, the constitution and its Islamic essence will be guaranteed and will survive. According to the constitution, the structure of the new political order and also the progress of affairs and their workings depend on the logic and essence of republicanism. The 6th, 7th, 57th, and 177th articles and the eighth clause of the 3rd article and other such articles of the constitution clarify this same republican logic. In the classification of "Islamic Republic", even if we don't consider the principle of republicanism to be a basic principle and we do not regard it subjectively, yet we should at least consider that republicanism is an Islamic objective and in this case also the perpetuation of the Islamic aspect of the order depends on its republicanism. Likewise if we want to affirm the relationship of the two pillars of the order; if we believe in the relationship of form and content as pointed out in some of Imām Khomeinī's speeches, even so preserving the content cannot happen without implementing the method of republicanism. However, as previously mentioned, Imām Khomeinī repeatedly and openly stated that the republican aspect of the system is the same here as it is all over the world.

In fact, a brief review of the administrative performance of the Imām in the ten years that he was leader shows that despite all the conspiracies and the imposed war, the indices of republicanism and democracy kept on rising. The role of the establishment of the Islamic republic and the acceptance of republicanism—meaning the people have the right to choose their own destiny and participate in the elections and everyone has one vote—is very important which means acceptance of equal voting rights among the people.

The other point is the intense democracy of the Imām and in fact the peculiar faith that he had in the participation of the people. In all his statements and also in his final will and testament after the word "Islam", the word "people" is the most often used word: "Everything that we have is from the people, the people are our patrons considering that the criterion is the

vote of the people, and the most virtuous of the people of the nation must be realized in the legislative assembly.

In fact, it can be claimed that the only person that really believes in republicanism in its true sense and who implemented it in the country was Imām Khomeinī. Republicanism was the unique characteristic of the Imām and it is a great injustice that some people say that the Imām accepted republicanism because he was under compulsion.

Anyway, despite there being a theoretical dispute about the Islamic and republican aspects existing in the society, in case the practical method of the Imām and also the principles of the constitution are put into practice, not only will there be no conflict about these two concepts; rather, their actions will be complementary and, according to the interpretation of martyred Professor Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, "republicanism" is the form of our government and "Islam" is its content.

Therefore, the best solution to the basic differences between the advocates of 'absolute religious jurisprudence' and the Islamic aspect of government on the one side, and the advocates of 'selective religious jurisprudence' and the republicanism aspect of the system is acceptance of the theory of Divine-Populist authority of jurisprudent. In effect, the acceptance of this theory, in addition to disarming those opposing republicanism and claiming the rule of religion and advocates of absolute religious jurisprudence, also blunts the weapon of the claimants to democracy who don't believe in the theory of Divine legitimacy of absolute religious jurisprudence. In practice also, it causes all energies to be used to increase the efficiency of the system without differences in fundamentals and principles.